

Ten most wanted Nazis

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PLASTIC COVER
87-88

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Bir Zeit University students bearing a makeshift coffin march behind a Palestinian flag in a mock funeral for the Ramallah woman killed on Monday during a clash between rioters and Border Police. The students carry a

Palestinian flag and chant "liberate Jaffa and Ramallah." Later in the day, Defence Minister Rabin, on the right, meets with about 200 Arab mayors and senior civil servants from the West Bank. (Andre Brutman and AFP)

Rabin talks of areas violence

Unrest may have been prelude to Shultz visit

By JOEL GREENBERG and JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The current wave of unrest in the West Bank and Gaza Strip may have been deliberately instigated from abroad in advance of this weekend's visit by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin said yesterday.

Rabin was speaking to reporters at a large reception at Kibbutz Ramat Rahel for Arab mayors, local council heads and senior civil servants in the West Bank. He said it was possible "that part of the disturbances are connected to attempts from abroad to create an atmosphere here of unrest in expectation of Shultz's visit. But I'm sure we can control it."

A similar view was expressed by Chief of General Staff Dan Shomron while touring an IDF base in the south. He said he believed the riots in the territories had passed their peak.

In response to a question about Monday's shooting in Ramallah of Inayat Hindi, a mother of eight, Shomron said that such accidents could happen in a populated area, and that "this is the price paid by those in the immediate vicinity."

He added that the Border Police men who fired the lethal shots were administrative staffers — including a cook, a quartermaster and an instructor serving in the area — who were caught in the middle of a stone-throwing crowd. "They were not the best trained [people] and there was no commander there," he said.

MK Amnon Rubinstein, who heads the new Centre Movement, called on security officials to equip Border Police and IDF troops in the West Bank with non-lethal weapons "like the riot control equipment used in Western Europe," in order to prevent casualties among innocent civilians during clashes with protesters.

Rabin extended condolences to the families "of all the innocent civilians, Jews and Arabs alike, who lost their lives" in the recent wave of violence.

Hindi was buried late Monday night. Only immediate family were permitted to attend the funeral, in a measure aimed at preventing further unrest.

At Bir Zeit University yesterday, students held a mock funeral for Hindi and marched behind a makeshift coffin covered with a Palestinian flag, eyewitnesses said. The students chanted slogans and made speeches condemning the Ramallah killing and the use of tear gas against Moslem protesters Sunday on the Temple Mount.

Stores were shut yesterday in Ramallah, el-Bireh, East Jerusalem and the old quarter of Nablus, where Palestinian sources said soldiers tried to force shopkeepers to open.

Stones were thrown at Israeli cars last night near the Deheish refugee camp, lightly injuring a boy. Earlier, an Israeli motorist was hurt when stones were thrown at her car in Nablus. Demonstrators burned tyres in several West Bank locations.

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Bank shares have lost NIS 700m.

By SHLOMO MAOZ
Post Economic Editor

Bank share holders who are entitled to redeem their shares, worth around NIS 2 billion, have lost some NIS 700 million due to the fall in the value of the dollar and the near-freezing of the foreign exchange rates. This latter action was the only elegant legal means open to the government to erode its domestic debts, a high-ranking official commented when questioned yesterday.

The official added that while governments the world over are eroding local debts through devaluation, here in Israel the only solution was to freeze the exchange rate because part of the government's local debt is denominated in dollar terms. It should be noted that the value of all other savings held in dollars, aside from bank shares, has also been eroded.

The Jerusalem Post's calculation showing how bank share holders have lost around a quarter of their money taken into account the loss against the consumer price index plus a real minimum potential yield of 3 per cent a year.

On October 30, the government is due to part with around NIS 2.5b., with NIS 2b. going to the bank shares and the rest to cover other financial obligations of the government. This sudden influx of money into the economy is making Treasury and Bank of Israel officials quite nervous. The government is trying to persuade the public to either reinvest most of its bank share money in savings schemes or leave it where it is in order to prevent the entry of too much loose money in the markets.

The official plan is to inject about NIS 1.6b. into the economy this fiscal year.

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No Shultz fireworks expected

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Post Political Reporter

On the eve of Secretary of State George Shultz's visit to Israel there is a consensus in Jerusalem that no dramatic breakthroughs in the peace process are to be expected from his talks here.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* (see page 5) Prime Minister Shamir rejected any possibility of U.S. guarantees which might change his mind concerning an international peace conference. Shamir also told *The Post* that his opposition to the conference did not entail a rejection of Soviet "involvement" in talks about the peace process.

But Shamir and other Likud ministers yesterday still found it necessary to make things crystal clear for Shultz, stating after a meeting in Jerusalem that the international conference was a "trap and a danger" for Israel and was tantamount to a return to the 1967 borders.

The ministers decided that one of the main points against the conference which will be presented to Shultz is the text of an April 20, 1982, letter from President Reagan

to then-premier Menachem Begin which reaffirmed that the Camp David agreement was the "only binding document" on the peace process. A similar letter was received in Jerusalem from Egyptian President Hosni

President Herzog will make a state visit to the White House on November 10 and Prime Minister Shamir will meet informally with President Ronald Reagan on November 20, it was announced yesterday.

A White House statement, issued in Somerset, New Jersey during a speech-making trip by the president, said Herzog's visit was "of particular significance as it comes during the year which marks the 40th anniversary of the State of Israel."

Mubarak on the same day, five days before Israel was to have completed its withdrawal from Sinai.

Labour and Social Affairs Minister Moshe Katsav told *The Post* yesterday that the Likud was not apprehensive about Shultz's visit. "We don't believe that anyone can compel us to accept a position which we

believe to be diametrically opposed to Israel's interests."

"It's true that the U.S. is Israel's best friend," said Katsav, "but there have been differences of opinion between us before, and this will be another case. Perhaps the U.S. wouldn't have embraced the international conference [idea] at all if half the government in Israel didn't support it."

"It is an unpleasant and uncomfortable situation for the Likud" to be opposed to what most of the world supports, Katsav said, but "this is not the first time that this has happened. The international conference is a Soviet-Arab idea which has been imposed on Europe and on the U.S., but the Israeli government opposes it because it is fraught with danger."

Schultz "is a friend who will not try to pressure or break Israel over the international peace conference issue," Shamir told Herut members in Bat Yam last night.

He said the Alignment wants an international peace conference because its leaders know they cannot muster a majority for giving up the

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Weizman to get invitation to visit the USSR

MENACHEM SHALEV
Post Political Reporter

Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman is to be invited to the Soviet Union in the near future for meetings with top Soviet leaders, informed sources in Jerusalem said yesterday.

Although the sources did not specify when the invitation to Weizman would be extended, unconfirmed reports yesterday said that the Soviets might invite him to participate in the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution to be held at the end of the month. The ceremonies are also to be attended by PLO chairman Yasser Arafat.

Weizman has repeatedly said that he would agree to speak with Arafat if the PLO leader recognized Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and Arafat has frequently expressed willingness to meet with Weizman.

Sources in Rakah said yesterday that they have been exploring the possibility of a meeting between

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Children die as missile hits Baghdad school

BAGHDAD (Reuters).— An Iranian missile smashed into a Baghdad primary school killing 29 children and three adults as classes were about to start yesterday.

At least 196 children were wounded in the blast which occurred at 7.55 a.m. Clashing books, satchels and lunch bags the pupils, all under 10, had just been settling in.

A military spokesman told the Iraqi news agency that two of the dead were women and 11 women were among the total of 218 injured. The missile, which brought a swift threat of Iraqi retaliation, demolished the school and more than 30 houses and shops nearby. It also damaged a youth centre.

Injured teachers tore bare-hand-

ed at rubble to reach trapped and screaming children.

Iraqi officials, listing the casualties, said at least 98 of the wounded were in serious condition.

It was the fourth missile strike on the Iraqi capital within eight days. An Iraqi communiqué, issued as firemen and rescue teams dug through the debris, declared it was "Iraq's right and duty to reply to this heinous crime. They want a war of the cities and they will get it. Missiles will make them understand."

The site looked like an earthquake had struck. Most of the school buildings were wrecked and text books and satchels were scattered everywhere. The school head, Ismail Geitan

Jassim, said he had 650 pupils at the Martyrs' Place Primary School. Weeping, he said he had been about 100 metres away when the missile struck.

"I collapsed, and when I got up it looked like a battleground, an earthquake. Everything was rubble," he said. Two of his teachers, badly injured, refused to go to hospital and tore at the rubble with bare hands.

Parents wailed with grief nearby as bulldozers shifted the debris, uncovering the frail small bodies of victims buried underneath.

The bloodied corpses of two tiny girls emerged as their father wept. Another middle-aged man, sitting amid the shattered brickwork, said

both his children had been killed. One of a group of women, wailing and pulling their hair, said she had lost two as well.

Iran's national news agency Iran said the missile was aimed at the Defence Ministry compound in Baghdad. The agency said it had been fired in response to Iraqi attacks on Iranian civilian targets, including a village school southwest of Tehran. The Defence Ministry is at least 20 km from the Martyrs' Place School.

Diplomats said they now feared a renewed war of the cities, on the lines of the tit-for-tat missile strikes and air raids that killed thousands of civilians in Iran and Iraq during 1985 and again early this year.

Another Jewish millionaire charged in Guinness scandal

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — Multi-millionaire businessman Gerald Ronson, vice president of the Joint Israel Appeal and a key British fundraiser for Israel, was last night charged with the theft of over £6 million from the Guinness brewing company.

Ronson, 48, chairman of the Heron International Group, was arrested yesterday morning by detectives investigating the Guinness shares scandal, shortly after arriving voluntarily for an interview at the fraud squad headquarters in Holborn.

He was questioned for seven hours before being charged with eight offences, including theft and false accounting. The charges relate to two payments, totalling £5.8m., made to companies owned by Ronson for their "services" in support of the Guinness takeover bid for the Distillers drinks group last year.

Within hours of Ronson's arrest, former Guinness chairman Ernest Saunders, who allegedly set up the illegal share support operation that helped Guinness win the Distillers takeover battle, was charged with 37 new offences relating to the scandal, including 10 of theft and 10 of false accounting.

Saunders, who was charged in May with three other offences relating to "Guinnessgate," was released on bail of £500,000.

Speaking outside Bow Street Magistrates' Court after the brief hearing, Saunders denied the charges and vowed to defend them vigorously, "every last one of them."

Relaxed and immaculate in a pin-striped suit and polka-dot tie, his thinning grey hair blowing in the autumn wind, Saunders claimed that he was being manipulated into the position of "scapegoat" in the

affair, and said he was "determined to clear myself. The idea of charges involving the word stealing — putting my hand in the till and taking out Guinness's money — is appalling," he added. "I have stolen nothing."

Ronson, believed to be one of the richest men in Britain, is the fourth businessman to be charged over the scandal. He was freed on bail last night, and will appear at Bow Street to be formally indicted today.

Following Saunders' arrest last summer, stockbroker Tony Parnes was arrested by the FBI on fraud squad instructions two weeks ago, and financier Sir Jack Lyons was last week charged with nine offences, including the theft of over £3m. All four men are Jewish.

The illegal share support operation, allegedly set up by Saunders and a team of advisers last year, kept Guinness's share price attrac-

tively high as it pursued its bid for Distillers.

In the course of the operation, Saunders allegedly paid out some £25m. of Guinness funds to businesses and individuals, as inducements to buy shares in Guinness.

Ronson has previously admitted accepting the £5.8m. in payments from this inducement fund; and in returning this money to Guinness's new management in January, he noted that he had agreed to what was a "potentially illegal scheme."

The Distillers takeover bid proved successful, but Department of Trade inspectors, who have been investigating the matter since last December, called in the fraud squad several months ago.

Ronson's arrest may not be the last relating to the affair, given the fact that other businessmen have admitted receiving money out of the £25m. fund.

Nudel welcome to be almost state occasion

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

As Israel waits impatiently for the arrival of Ida Nudel tomorrow night, even the most observant of Soviet immigrants are unconcerned by the fact that she may be travelling on a Jewish holiday.

"You are speaking to a religious Jew who left the Soviet Union on a Friday night," Bezael Schiff, an activist in Shamir, the organization of religious scientists from the USSR, said last night.

He went on to explain that the Soviet authorities decide when and how one may leave and they do not ask those involved. Schiff said he doubted that the Soviets deliberately arranged for Nudel to leave while Jews in Russia were beginning to celebrate Simhat Torah.

The woman who for 16 years served as the "guardian angel" of the refusenik movement is due to arrive at 8 p.m. with U.S. billionaire Armand Hammer on a direct flight from Moscow aboard his private plane. During the last few days there has been feverish behind-the-scenes activity to ensure that the plane arrives after the end of the holiday.

This will facilitate the reception arrangements, which have taken on the character of a state occasion.

Upon her arrival, members of Nudel's family will first be allowed to board the plane and meet her. She will then be received by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsor and Jewish Agency Chairman Arye Dultzin.

Also on hand to greet Nudel will be actress Fania Fonda, who was active in working for her release. Nudel is expected to call a number of world leaders after she arrives in Israel.

Thousands of Israeli citizens are also expected to come to Ben-Gurion Airport to greet the woman whose quiet heroism and continued resistance in the face of the seemingly unassailable Soviet authorities made her a symbol of personal courage. The crowd will be able to watch her arrival, her meeting with dignitaries and a subsequent news conference on a giant closed circuit TV screen.

Nudel, 56, had been exiled to the Moldavian town of Bendery. She learned that she would receive the exit visa for which she first applied in 1970 while on a visit to Moscow, on the eve of Yom Kippur. The Soviet authorities had previously denied her the right to leave because they claimed she had access to

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Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez was yesterday named winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace. (Stories - pages 2,3) (AFP)

Gorbachev 'no' to cultural revolution

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev vowed yesterday to drive his opponents out of office but said he was not planning a Chinese-style cultural revolution.

"I do not want to be understood as if I am issuing calls, in the way that was done during the 1966-76 cultural revolution in China, to open fire on the headquarters," Gorbachev told a public meeting in Leningrad.

"No, comrades, that would be a mistake ...

Escape bid

An escape attempt from Nabius prison by eight security prisoners, including the murderers of yeshiva student Eliahu Amadi, was foiled by guards yesterday. (Itim)



Jimmy Connors in Jerusalem yesterday. (Feinblatt/Media)

Connors -- showman incarnate

By PHILIP GILLON
and YORAM KESSEL

The venerable institutions of marriage and paternity received unexpected support yesterday from Jimmy Connors, one of the greatest tennis players of all time. There is an old adage in tennis that mating and fatherhood generally precipitate a player's decline — misogynists cite what happened to Bjorn Borg, John McEnroe, and Israel's own Shlomo Glickstein as a result of losing their independent status.

On the other hand, Connors, in an exclusive interview yesterday, shortly before he launched his joyous conquest of Jerusalem at the Israel Tennis Centre (see sports

page 8) had only good things to say about the effect of holy matrimony on his career. Asked for an explanation of his sporting longevity — his age, 35, is the official cut-off point at

Interview

which players are expected to enter the seniors' division, yet Connors is still No. 5 in the world — he credited becoming a husband and a father with giving him the zest to keep fit and to go on playing and beating far younger men.

For many years, Connors, now the darling of press and public everywhere, as he is now in Israel, was

considered to be the Bad Boy of tennis, despite his incomparable talents. Asked when and why the transformation in his status took place, he credited this also to the effect on his behaviour of family life.

"Marriage definitely changed me," he said. "I had to get used to a very changed style of living."

Connors came into tennis shortly after tennis' transformation from a sport into a big business, with glittering rewards of millions of dollars for the superstars. He thinks that this was definitely a healthy development, not only because he himself did so well out of the new type of

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	12.10.87	MIN.	MAX.	C	F	W
AMSTERDAM	8	12	15	Cloudy		
BRUSSELS	7	10	13	Cloudy		
FRANKFURT	6	9	12	Cloudy		
GENOVA	10	14	17	Cloudy		
PARIS	10	14	17	Cloudy		
ROME	10	14	17	Cloudy		
ST. PETERSBURG	10	14	17	Cloudy		
TORONTO	10	14	17	Cloudy		
WASHINGTON	10	14	17	Cloudy		
ZURICH	10	14	17	Cloudy		

For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

THE WEATHER

Yesterday's Weather	Min-Max	Today's Forecast
Jerusalem	10-14	26
Golan	13-26	27
Nazareth	10-14	26
Safed	10-14	26
Haifa Port	10-14	26
Tiberias	10-14	26
Nazareth	10-14	26
Afula	10-14	26
Sharon	10-14	26
Tel Aviv	10-14	26
B-G Airport	10-14	26
Jericho	10-14	26
Gaza	10-14	26
Beersheba	10-14	26
Eilat	10-14	26

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Dr. Wiegand Pabsch, deputy director-general for technological and environmental affairs of the Federal German Republic, and Mrs. Pabsch yesterday visited the Weizmann Institute of Science, where Dr. Pabsch lectured on "Scientific and Technological Cooperation as a New Dimension of German Foreign Policy." Later Dr. and Mrs. Pabsch were luncheon guests of the Institute's president, Prof. Aryeh Dvoretzky.

The Jerusalem Rotary Club luncheon will not be held at the YMCA, King David St. today due to the holiday.

Garbage collectors end strike in TA

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Tel Aviv sanitation workers yesterday ended a week of sanctions after reaching an agreement with the municipality.

Under the two-year agreement, which is retroactive to April, the city's sanitation system is to be reorganized, and another 500 garbage bins are to be distributed. Garbage-truck drivers are to receive a 30 per cent pay raise. The city agreed in the accord not to fire any drivers or hire private garbage collectors.

Artist Eliahu Gat, 68

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Artist Eliahu Gat died early yesterday morning in Safad Hospital. He was 68.

Gat, who immigrated from Russia in 1937, painted numerous landscapes which he exhibited here and abroad.

He is to be buried at 11:30 this morning at the Safad cemetery.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Suspected terrorist spy killed in clash with SLA

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ROSH HANUKKA. — An armed terrorist, believed to have been on a spying mission, was killed yesterday afternoon in a clash with South Lebanese Army troops on the perimeter of the security zone in South Lebanon, SLA sources reported.

SLA troops were on patrol in the Ali Tahr hill range in the central sector of the zone when they spotted the gunman and opened fire. A rifle, hand grenades and other equipment were found alongside the body, the sources said.

It is believed the gunman was spying on the movements of the SLA in the area.

Meanwhile, Middle East Television (MET) reported that the SLA had withdrawn its troops from two controversial hilltop strongholds on the border of the zone, overlooking the village of Yatar, in the wake of

the killing of a Nepalese Unifil soldier last week.

The soldier was killed by machine-gun fire from one of the SLA positions while being taken to hospital in an ambulance. The incident happened as the ambulance, marked with the UN and Red Cross insignia, was travelling along the Yatar to Habis road, slightly north of the perimeter of the security zone.

The troops involved in the shooting have reportedly been arrested on the orders of SLA commander Gen. Antoine Lahad and are awaiting trial.

Unifil has complained on numerous occasions about "indiscriminate firing" from the positions which has reportedly resulted in the death of the Nepalese soldier, several civilians and the wounding of a number of local villagers.

The SLA, for its part, had charged that the all-but deserted vil-

lage of Yatar was used as a launching pad by terrorists to attack targets inside the security zone and fire Katyusha rockets into Israel.

MET last night showed pictures of two platoons of SLA troops dismantling their equipment and pulling out of their positions.

The report quoted Lahad as saying that the move was a humanitarian gesture to alleviate the suffering of the local civilian population, and to allow the former residents of Yatar to return to their homes.

Lahad reportedly warned, however, that his troops would re-occupy the posts and take over the villages if there was a renewal of terrorist activities from the area.

Sources in South Lebanon said the various groups which had been attacking the SLA positions over the past two years had adopted a "wait and see" attitude.

UN scuttles for sixth year Arabs' move to reject Israel's credentials

NEW YORK (Reuters). — The UN General Assembly, for the sixth consecutive year, blocked a bid by Arab states yesterday to reject Israel's UN credentials.

A motion by Finland, on behalf of the Nordic states, to take no action on the Arab challenge was approved by a vote of 80 to 39, with 10 abstentions.

The vote on a similar motion at last year's assembly was 77 in favour to 40 against, with 10 abstentions.

The move to reject Israel's credentials, while accepting those submitted by 108 other UN members, was introduced by Libya on behalf of 20 Arab states, and joined later by Iran.

The Soviet Union and most of its allies, as in the past,

joined the Arab countries in voting against the motion to shelve the challenge to Israel.

But Hungary and Poland, which have low-level diplomatic relations with Israel, took no part in the vote in a repetition of their position last year. Czechoslovakia, which cast a negative vote last year, did not vote this time.

Egypt, suspended from the Arab League after signing a peace treaty with Israel in 1979, was not one of the sponsors of the Arab challenge and voted in favour of taking no action on it.

Jordan, though one of the sponsors of the challenge, did not participate in the vote.

U.S. to Soviets: Let more Jews out

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The U.S. yesterday strongly urged the Soviet Union to genuinely accelerate the emigration process for Soviet Jews.

National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci said that the fact "remains that a campaign of gestures — however welcome — does not add up to justice, a systematic improvement in the overall human rights situation."

Addressing the leadership of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry at the Capitol Hilton Hotel, Carlucci added that Soviet "promises of things to come still don't amount to actions."

He recalled that despite the recent increase in the number of exit visas granted to Soviet Jews, "it pales in comparison to the 51,320 who left in 1979."

Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Rosanne Ridgeway told the same meeting that Secretary of State George Shultz would raise the human rights issue next week during his talks in Moscow with the same degree of importance as arms control.

The chairman of the umbrella Soviet Jewry group, Morris Abram, was due to meet last night with Shultz to discuss the secretary's trip to the Soviet Union.

At the conference here, Carlucci declared that "human rights remains one of the four basic agenda items in our dialogue with the Soviet leadership — in every forum and occasion."

In a carefully drafted policy speech, he said the Reagan administration also remains committed to the Jackson-Vanik freedom of emi-

gration amendment.

"We do not seek political confrontation; we see no profit in polemics; we don't want to score points against newly effective public relations out of Moscow," Carlucci said. "We want to see results — justice, not gestures. While wary and skeptical, we are also hopeful and optimistic. And we are ready to applaud whatever forward steps the Soviet Union may take."

Haim Shapiro in Jerusalem adds: With the impending arrival of Ida Nudel tomorrow night, Russian, olim active in the struggle for the freedom of Soviet Jewry are concerned about what they view as growing complacency among Israel's leaders.

To highlight this concern, four of the most prominent former Soviet Prisoners of Zion — Yosef Mendelovitch, Natan Sharanovsky, Yuri Edelstein and Victor Brailovsky — are to meet today with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

According to Yuri Shtern, spokesman for the Jerusalem-based Soviet Jewry Information Centre, there is widespread concern that Peres believes that most of the Soviet Jews who want to emigrate have done so, leaving the ground open for talks on establishing diplomatic relations with the USSR, while Shamir, for his part, seems primarily concerned with arranging direct flights from Moscow to Israel.

There is no doubt, Shtern said, that the Soviets are making the most of their release of Nudel, but the Soviet Jewish activists maintain that the work is far from over. They insist that a great potential exists for alia among Soviet Jews and that Israel must hold out for a general repatriation agreement with the USSR, allowing for the alia of all Jews, whether they have relatives in Israel or not. This, they say, must precede any diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union.

The four will be bringing with them a letter to this effect sent in March by 23 former Prisoners of Zion and the wives of three current prisoners.

Navon to tackle radio-TV strike

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, who has just returned from a prolonged stay abroad, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that he would deal with the strike by Israel Broadcasting Authority journalists.

"Strikes are not good," he declared, "but he decided to deal with this one. He could not come up with anything concrete, he said, until he was conversant with all the facts."

By law, the education minister bears parliamentary responsibility for the IBA. Whether Navon can break the existing deadlock between the Treasury and the National Association of Journalists remains to be seen. The Journalists Association does not want its members to be treated as civil servants and to have wages and conditions similar to their colleagues in the print media.

But the Broadcasting Authority Law states that IBA employees are to be engaged or appointed in the same manner as state employees, with the grading, establishment, pay, benefits and terms of employment of the various job categories of state employees.

The law provides for "the special character of jobs peculiar to the authority" but adds the rider that these considerations are to be determined by the minister upon the proposal of the management committee after consultation with the finance minister. In the past, such recommendations were made, but this year, the IBA journalists are back where they were nine years ago.

Strike committee spokesman Zvi Goren said last night that the strikers expect Navon to "push forward the effort to bring the strike to an end."

Meanwhile, representatives of both the National Association of Journalists and the management of the Broadcasting Authority are to meet this morning with Nahman Ori, the Ministry of Labour's head of labour relations.

The burning question at the moment is whether or not there will be television and radio coverage of the arrival tomorrow night of Ida Nudel, one of the most renowned and revered of the Prisoners of Zion. Gali Zabl will provide complete live radio coverage, and has been promoting a special programme devoted to Ida Nudel. It is also believed that Nudel's welcome will be covered live by television's Second Channel.

The Second Channel last night instituted its nightly feature films, beginning with *Dr. Fisher*. Tonight's film at 18.25 will be the Uri Zohar classic *Peeping Toms*. The screenings will terminate with the conclusion of the strike.



World Jewish Congress Chairman Edgar Bronfman (left) meets with Prime Minister Shamir yesterday in Jerusalem. Bronfman told Shamir that the WJC would not intervene in the internal Israeli dispute concerning the peace process. "We are just spectators and the decision must fall on the playing field which is Israel," Bronfman reportedly said. Shamir told Bronfman that he appreciated his position. "We all want peace but an organization such as yours indeed should not take sides in a political issue which is in dispute in Israel." (GPO)

Tear gas aimed at intruders ends classes at E. J'lem school

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

Classes at the Mamuniya school, one of the largest Israeli-funded schools in East Jerusalem, ended abruptly yesterday morning when police threw tear gas grenades into the school's courtyard to disperse intruders who stoned two police vans and sought to incite the pupils to demonstrate.

The tear gas wafted into the school building and caused chaos in the classrooms. "I had just put an outline of the lesson on the blackboard," said Wafa Louis, a history teacher who was about to give a lesson on the European invasion of the Ottoman empire. "And suddenly we were invaded."

Police said they were forced to fire tear gas at the intruders — male and female pupils from a private school in the area who wanted Mamuniya's 1,400 pupils to join in a demonstration.

But school officials and an eyewitness said that the police's hasty use of tear gas had affected the school's pupils, even though they were not over the outsiders who had burst into their school.

Mamuniya, in Ibn Khaldun Street, is a public girls' school that receives Israeli funding but follows the Jordanian curriculum. Its students, aged 16 to 19, come from Jerusalem and nearby villages and refugee camps.

One Border Policeman was lightly injured by a stone, and two pupils were taken to hospital because of the effects of the gas. The school's principal sent everyone home because fumes lingered in the classrooms and corridors.

Police arrested three youths in the incident, and at least seven others connected with other disturbances in Jerusalem yesterday.

East Jerusalem shopkeepers continued their commercial strike for the third day yesterday, and many schools were closed as well.

Some young people, believed to be Arabs, threw stones and smashed the windows of the Mishkenot Har-om restaurant on the walkway in East Talpote yesterday morning. Two windows of a house in East Talpote were also smashed.

In the Anata neighbourhood, striking Arab students threw stones at the storehouses of the Coca-Cola plant and also blocked roads and burned tyres.

Anti-Israel slogans appeared on walls along the Via Dolorosa in the Old City, not far from the spot where Jerusalem resident Yigal Shahaf was murdered on Saturday night.

The police are continuing to investigate Shahaf's murder, but have yet to announce any breakthrough in the case.

Orthodox seek to renew fight over Friday films

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

At a time when the Jerusalem police are busy dealing with a wave of Palestinian unrest and preparing for the visit of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz this weekend, ultra-Orthodox community leaders are considering how to carry on their fight against Friday night films.

To dispel any illusion that the ultra-Orthodox are giving up their fight against the screening of movies on Shabbat, four rabbis of the ultra-Orthodox community (Eda Haredit) handed out leaflets in front of Jerusalem's main Post Office yesterday afternoon.

"We have to do all we can to stop the desecration of Shabbat," said Rabbi Hillel Schlesinger, a member of the community's highest ecclesiastical court. "Shake and Shudder, O Jerusalem," said one of the leaflets the rabbis handed out, "from within you has arisen a malicious Sabbath desecrator, namely the manager of the Cinematheque, who has taken it upon himself to lead the fight of the uprooters of the Holy Sabbath in Jerusalem by opening his theatre on this very sacred day."

The ultra-Orthodox officials said they planned to resume their demonstrations once the Sucoot holiday was over.

The arson attempt was the latest incident in a three-week harassment campaign aimed at pressuring the four Arabs to leave town.

During a visit by MK Meir Kahane to Netanyahu two weeks ago, 20 Kach Party supporters beat up the Arabs. A week later, when Kach followers returned to check if the Arabs had left, the men called the police.

Labour beats Likud to talks with U.S. Jews before Zionist Congress

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

The Labour Party is moving fast towards closing a deal with the three major American Zionist groups on the division of portfolios in the forthcoming Zionist Congress, according to sources in New York involved in these talks.

A Reform movement leader in New York said last night that serious discussions with the Likud have not even begun, since it has not united around a candidate for the post of chairman of the World Zionist Organization. He said that there have been recent soundings from

Israel on behalf of a number of possible Likud candidates, but none of them have been taken seriously.

It is virtually certain that neither Labour nor the Likud will be able to win control of the Zionist Congress and secure the post of chairman without nailing down the support of the three largest American Zionist groups: Hadassah and the Reform and Conservative Zionist organizations.

The deal shaping up at present between Labour and these three groups gives the WZO Department of Education and Culture in the Di-

aspora to the Reform, the Organization Department to the Conservatives, and possibly the Youth Aliya Department to Hadassah's affiliate, the Confederation of United Zionists. In return, they will support Labour's candidate for chairman, Akiva Lewinsky.

Minister-without-Portfolio Yitzhak Mordechai of the Liberal Party emerged this week as the leading Likud candidate for the post of WZO chairman. But he has no chance of being seriously considered as a candidate unless he changes his position on the Law of Return.

החזן

עיתון לאנשים חושבים

In This Weekend's Ha'aretz

THE THIRD MAN
The Enigma Behind the Gaza Strip Unrest
David Rutzke

TOWARDS THE SHULTZ VISIT/Akiva Eldor

MAN'S WAY WITH WOMAN
Chauvinistic Reflections/Roman Freilich

HIS HEART'S IN THE EAST
Moshe Levinger's son,
a New York businessman/Syal Rutzke

Poems on the Gates of Romp • Gideon Alon and Amos Ben Vered on Basil Laws • Michael Handelman on the Arts Festival • Benny London on Mister Chips • Political Corridors/Dan Shoham • Croakings/Zeev Tefet • Strong Box •

NO FIREWORKS

(Continued from Page One)

territories, so they want the rest of the world to do the job for them. He added that only if the international peace conference is taken off the agenda will the Arabs consider direct negotiations, in his view the only real road to peace.

Sources close to Foreign Minister Peres said yesterday that the Shultz visit creates a "delicate" situation, which will probably result in "low-key and discreet" talks.

Details of the visit were finalized yesterday in talks between the Foreign Ministry and an advance party from the State Department. Shultz, who is to arrive here at noon on Friday, will be accompanied by top State Department officials Richard Murphy and Charles Hill, a host of other officials and 16 journalists.

Shultz is scheduled to hold at least three meetings with Shamir and the same number with Peres during his three day stay. He will spend Saturday in Riyadh, meet with Palestinians here on Saturday night, and have breakfast with Defence Minister Rabin on Sunday morning. He is also to receive honorary doctorates from Tel Aviv University and the Weizmann Institute and hold meetings with Ida Nudel, a group of ex-refuseniks and Mayor Teddy Kollek.

Couple forget baby on bus

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

A Jerusalem couple returning home from a trip at about 1 a.m. yesterday discovered that they had forgotten something in the bus that dropped them off: their baby.

The fearful couple called the police, who managed to track down the Orange Tours bus that had taken them home. The police found the bus at about the same time that the driver found the baby, said Jerusalem police spokesman Rafi Levy.

This was one instance, Levy noted, in which the police were happy to provide prompt lost and found service.

On the thirtieth day after the passing of our beloved

AHARON KOGAN

Distinguished Citizen of Ramat Gan, one of the city's founders and builders, supporter of and contributor to public institutions, there will be a graveside memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone on Sunday, October 18, 1987, Tishrei 25, 5748, at Herzliya cemetery. A bus will be available for those wishing to attend, leaving from the deceased's residence, 25 Rehov Hazetim, Ramat Gan, at 9.30 a.m.

The bereaved: Esther and David Me'eman and Family

Our deepest condolences to

EMILE WAZANA

and family on the death of their father, father-in-law, and grandfather

NISSIM WAZANA

The family in Holland

A memorial service will be held at the cemetery at Kibbutz Yitzre'el on Friday, October 16, 1987 at 11:30 a.m. for

DUDI (David) SILBOWITZ

and

NEIL FREED

who fell in the Yom Kippur War.

The Families and Beit Yitzre'el

Indians tighten noose on Tigers

COLOMBO, — Advancing Indian troops tightened their noose around the Sri Lankan Tamil stronghold of Jaffna but met heavy resistance from entrenched rebels as casualties mounted on both sides, an Indian spokeswoman said yesterday.

Indian Embassy spokeswoman Lakshmi Puri said 27 Indian soldiers have been killed and 141 wounded in four days of fighting in northern and eastern Sri Lanka to suppress diehard guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

She told a news briefing here that about 200 rebels have been killed and 270 captured.

Indian troops, supported by tanks and heavy artillery, pushed steadily from the north, east and west toward the centre of Jaffna, the island's third largest city, as the Tigers put up a desperate resistance in street-by-street battles.

She declined to disclose when Indian troops would reach the city centre but a senior Sri Lankan officer said "It could be at any moment or in the next few days." Puri said Tiger guerrillas prevented civilians from fleeing to safety and used them as "human shields" to mask operations, a charge also made on Monday by state-run All India Radio.

The LTTE in a statement issued in Vavuniya, about 160 km. south of Jaffna, said in fighting at Jaffna University on Monday guerrillas captured one Indian soldier and recovered the bodies of 40.

It said rebels were prevented from

handing over the bodies to Indian forces "so we burned them."

The statement said two Indian helicopters and a plane bombed and strafed the university grounds, killing 28 civilians and wounding 72.

But Puri said aircraft were being used only to ferry troops and supplies. She said the heaviest weapons used by the Indians were 120 mm. mortars. Tanks and armoured personnel carriers were used only on occasions "in direct firing roles to neutralize LTTE positions." There was no independent confirmation of the situation in Jaffna, which has been closed to journalists.

Chavakachcheri town residents, 16 km. east of Jaffna, told reporters yesterday they heard explosions and gunfire throughout the night, and some said many civilians had been killed or wounded in the fighting.

Indian forces began their offensive last Saturday to end a rampage by the Tigers who had killed more than 200 Sinhalese.

India has sent more than 12,000 troops to the island to enforce an Indo-Sri Lankan peace pact signed on July 29 to end a four-year Tamil separatist revolt.

Informed military sources said the rebels in an intercepted radio message appealed to comrades in the southern Indian city of Madras to rush in arms and reinforcements to Jaffna.

But joint Indian and Sri Lankan naval patrols have been increased in the narrow Palk Strait between the

countries to isolate the Jaffna rebels.

Sri Lankan state radio said about most of Jaffna city's 150,000 residents have sought refuge in a Hindu temple and Delft Island in the west.

Meanwhile, in Madras, where Tamil groups keep offices, Tamil sources said the LTTE had called for an end to the onslaught. In a letter to a powerful local politician, LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran said he was ready to resume talks with India, if it called off the offensive. The letter had been forwarded to Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi, who is attending a Commonwealth summit in Canada, military sources said.

It was the second call for a halt to the offensive by the LTTE leader since it was launched on Thursday after the LTTE was blamed for the massacre of about 200 Sinhalese civilians in eastern Sri Lanka.

Indian diplomats have said several Tamil rebel bases have been smashed and dozens of guerrillas captured and weapons seized. About 300 guerrillas in all have been arrested since Thursday. About 20,000 Sinhalese have reportedly fled the rebel massacres in the eastern province where Sinhalese, Tamils and Moslems live in approximately equal numbers. Curfews were still in force in the operational areas although they were lifted in the east early yesterday, officials said. (Reuters, AFP)

Arias wins Nobel Prize for Central American peace

OSLO (Reuters). — Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez won the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize for his role as architect of a peace plan for troubled Central American states, the Oslo-based Nobel Committee announced yesterday.

Arias, 46, the youngest-ever president of a tiny country that has had no armed forces since 1948, was a surprise winner and had not been on the prize committee's shortlist.

Since taking office in 1986 as Costa Rica's 47th president, Arias has assumed the role of peacemaker in Central America.

"As the main architect of the peace plan, President Arias made an outstanding contribution to the possible return of stability and peace to a region long torn by strife and civil war," committee chairman Egil Aarvik told reporters.

Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Honduras signed the peace plan in Guatemala on August 7. It has received a guarded reaction in Washington.

The accord has raised hopes for an end to the political bloodshed in the region. Arias has criticized violence no matter which side has been responsible.

"The importance of his work for peace will extend beyond Central America," the citation for the prize said.

Arias, head of the centre-left National Liberation Party government (PLN), was nominated by a Swedish parliamentarian, Aarvik told state television. He is expected to collect the award in Oslo at the formal ceremony on December 10.

The prize is worth \$340,000.

IN BRIEF

638 Malay rape cases

KUALA LUMPUR (AFP). — Malaysian courts tried 638 cases of alleged rape between 1981 and 1986, a top official told parliament Monday, amidst demands by women's groups for tougher government action against rapists. Deputy Home Minister Megat Junid Ayob told the Dewan Rakyat, or Lower House, that the courts convicted 323 of those charged with rape, but only one received the maximum 20-year jail term. There have been at least five cases of rape killings here over the past five months, two involving girls below the age of 10.

'Famous' France tramp must pay compensation

AMIENS (Reuters). — A tramp who captured the hearts of all France last winter by saving a baby abandoned in freezing weather was ordered by a court here Monday to pay the hospital costs of a man he beat up.

Ramdan Korchev, 53, enjoyed a brief moment of glory in January when he rescued a newborn baby left in a plastic bag on waste ground. But fame quickly faded and Korchev's violent past returned to haunt him when the Amiens court ruled that he must pay 10,000 francs (\$1,500) to the victim of a 1982 assault, for which he had already served a prison sentence.

Cleric stoned to death

NICOSIA (AP). — An Iranian cleric was stoned to death in Tehran yesterday, after he was convicted of corruption, including the consumption of alcohol and the possession of narcotics, Tehran Radio reported.

It said Ali Shahidi had been sentenced to death by stoning by a special Islamic court that has been set up to try corrupt clergymen.

Under Islamic law, or sharia, execution by stoning is generally carried out when a person is convicted of sexual crimes, including homosexuality, prostitution and adultery.

Harare's biggest bomb

HARARE (Reuters). — Eighteen people were injured, two seriously, when a car bomb ripped through the car park of a suburban Harare shopping centre yesterday morning.

There was no indication who was responsible for the blast, the biggest in Harare since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

Witnesses said the blast, which blew a one metre-wide crater in the asphalt car park, was clearly a car bomb, although police did not immediately confirm this.

VISIT. — King Hussein and Queen Noor of Jordan arrived in Helsinki yesterday on their first state visit to Finland.



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Alf Landon

'Legendary' U.S. Republican elder Alf Landon dies at 100

KANSAS (Reuters). — Former U.S. presidential candidate Alf Landon, an elder statesman of the Republican Party and influential adviser to presidents, died in his sleep on Monday at the age of 100.

Called a "legendary" Republican, Landon was governor of Kansas from 1933 to 1937, but is most often remembered for his loss to Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1936 presidential race, one of the worst election defeats in U.S. history.

President Reagan visited Landon's Kansas home last month to celebrate his 100th birthday and said: "No one is more the living soul of Kansas and the quiet strength and

the simple decency of all America."

Senator Robert Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate, said on Monday: "Alfred Landon was a friend and a mentor. He was a legendary Republican who taught generations of politicians what integrity and leadership were all about. He was always way ahead of his time. Alfred Landon's life was a solid century of achievement."

Landon had one daughter by his first wife, who died, and a son and daughter by his second wife.

His legacy has been carried on by his daughter Nancy Landon Kassebaum, a Republican senator from Kansas.

Bush, now running, must beat 'wimp' image

CHICAGO (Reuters). Vice-President George Bush, for seven years a consummate loyalist to Ronald Reagan, has begun a presidential campaign aimed at carving out his own political identity.

Bush, who formally kicked off his bid for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination on Monday, said he was "shifting gears from the present to the future." Bush, the front-runner for the Republican mantle, is in Chicago on a ten-day country-wide campaign swing.

Opinion polls show him with a huge lead over Senate Republican leader Robert Dole of Kansas, who is rated the top challenger, and four other rivals.

But political analysts say Bush must answer criticism that he is a political "wimp" with no philosophy of his own.

Despite a long public career in which he headed the Central Intelligence Agency served as U.S. envoy to China and ambassador to the United Nations, polls show voters say they do not know what he stands for, a common problem for vice presidents who are torn between the demand to appear loyal and independent at the same time.

Bush's tightrope act was evident on Monday when he balanced his vows of independence with profuse praise for Reagan — one of the most popular chief executives in this century. He called Reagan "a great president... who returned dignity and common sense" to the White House.

But he also offered the first hints of disagreement with Reagan's priorities by suggesting the government should spend more on schools

and pay more attention to guarding the environment.

He also lamented a decline in public ethics, an apparent reference to the large number of administration officials implicated in wrongdoing, and made clear that, unlike Reagan, he would not campaign against government.

Bush avoided any mention of the social issues dear to his party's right-wing activists, a key constituency that has made opposition to abortion and support for school prayer litmus tests for Republican candidates.

The vice president who has never been popular with his party's hard core conservatives, also failed to mention Reagan's "Star Wars" anti-missile system — another favourite of the right wing.

Terrorists blamed for Bonn politician's murder

BONN (Reuters). — The brother of West German politician Uwe Barschel, forced out of office in a political scandal and found dead Sunday, said yesterday that he might have been murdered by terrorists.

Eike Barschel told West German Radio that a mysterious informant who met his brother, the former premier of Schleswig-Holstein state, shortly before his body was found in a Geneva hotel on Sunday, could have been a decoy for urban guerrillas.

Barschel's family said the politician came to Geneva to meet an informant called Robert Roloff, who is said to have promised to produce a photograph proving a conspiracy behind the scandal which forced Barschel to resign last month.

"Until we find Roloff or find out more about him... we won't know what part he played in this business, whether he was an important partic-

ipant in a plot (to kill Uwe Barschel) or a decoy for some group — terrorists for instance," Eike Barschel said.

Geneva police said that a preliminary autopsy showed heart trouble might have caused Barschel's death but added they had not ruled out suicide or murder.

His family have said they believe Barschel, a leading member of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats Union (CDU), was murdered.

Barschel resigned after a former aide alleged he had ordered a detective to spy on the sex life of a political opponent in state elections last month. The aide also alleged Barschel had directed a letter to be written accusing the opponent, Schleswig-Holstein Social Democratic Party (SPD) leader Björn Engholm, of tax fraud.

In Kiel, the capital of Schleswig-Holstein, state authorities said the

regional parliament would elect a new premier on October 22.

The CDU, which has traditionally ruled West Germany's northernmost state, suffered heavy losses to the opposition SPD in elections held a day after news of the scandal broke.

The CDU and its liberal coalition allies hold 37 seats in the Kiel assembly, the same number as the SPD and an independent member representing the state's Danish minority who has said he will vote with the SPD.

Political analysts say a deadlock over the choice of a new premier could result in new elections in Schleswig-Holstein.

Losing control of Schleswig-Holstein would be a severe blow for Kohl's CDU, which has suffered losses in a series of state elections in recent months.

VISIT. — King Hussein and Queen Noor of Jordan arrived in Helsinki yesterday on their first state visit to Finland.



About 50 handicapped Lebanese begin a "march for peace" on Monday in the village of Halba, 112km north of Beirut, to protest against 12 years of war in Lebanon. The scheduled six-day march is due to end in the southern port of Tyre. (AFP)

'Soviets, U.S. iron out differences'

UNITED NATIONS (AP). — The Soviet Union and United States have resolved differences over a key point in a proposed treaty that would eliminate intermediate-range nuclear missiles, a top Soviet official said on Monday.

Vladimir Petrovsky, a deputy Soviet foreign minister, told a United Nations committee that negotiators in Geneva had ironed out differences over the timetable for eliminating the weapons.

"Agreement has been reached on the article on phasing the elimination of missiles," Petrovsky told the UN General Assembly's first committee, which discusses disarmament issues.

An aide to Petrovsky, speaking on condition he not be identified, said he could not elaborate on how the dispute was resolved but confirmed that agreement had been reached on a timetable for eliminating the weapons.

In the past, the Soviets have announced developments on arms control in Moscow or in Geneva, where their negotiators are based.

U.S. State Department spokesman Dennis Harter, speaking by telephone from Washington, said that neither he nor other State Department officials had any information on Petrovsky's announcement. Officials at the U.S. Mission also said they had no information.

The envoy, the deputy head of the Soviet delegation to the 42nd General Assembly session, said the principal remaining obstacles are arrangements for verifying compliance with the treaty.

U.S. and Soviet negotiators are working under an October deadline to complete work on the treaty, which U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze agreed to in principle in Washington last month. The two are to meet again in Moscow on October 22-23 to review progress and set a date for U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to sign the treaty at a summit this fall in Washington.

Rome rapped for keeping Iraqi kidnap secret

ROME (Reuters). — The Italian government came under heavy fire yesterday for keeping the kidnapping of three Italians in Iraq secret until the news emerged in Beirut.

An Iraqi Kurdish group said in a statement delivered to an international news agency in Beirut on Monday that the Italian engineers had been kidnapped in northern Iraq.

It said the abductions were in protest against Italian aid to Iraq and the presence of Italian warships in the Gulf, where they are escorting

merchant vessels.

The delay over revealing the abductions drew angry protests from opposition parties. It created new difficulties for Christian Democrat Prime Minister Giovanni Goria, whose five-party government has repeatedly been buffeted by problems since taking office in late July.

The neo-Fascist MSI party said in a parliamentary question for Goria that the government must urgently clarify the circumstances of the kidnappings, saying its "silence to parliament and therefore the Italian

people... (is) irresponsible and unprecedented." Mario Capanna, a leader of the left wing Proletarian Democracy Party, said Goria's silence about the kidnappings even during a parliamentary debate last week on the naval mission to the Gulf was "morally unacceptable, politically shortsighted and institutionally provocative."

He said the government had kept from parliament information vital for assessing the naval mission and called for the withdrawal of Italian ships.

U.S. Supreme Court upholds ban on SAA flights

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — The Supreme Court let stand yesterday a U.S. government ban on flights to America by the South African national airline as part of the sanctions over apartheid.

The justices rejected an appeal by South African Airways (SAA) seeking to overturn or delay the ban enacted by Congress as part of a sanctions package designed to press Pretoria to end its apartheid system of racial segregation.

The administration, carrying out the sanctions legislation adopted by

Congress over President Ronald Reagan's veto, ordered the airline a year ago to halt all service between South Africa and the U.S.

The airline appealed after a U.S. court of appeals in Washington ruled in April that Congress had intended the immediate suspension of its landing rights.

Lawyers for SAA argued the legislation did not require the immediate revocation of landing rights. They said the airline should have been allowed to continue providing

service for a full year until the termination of a bilateral aviation agreement between the two countries.

"The issue in the case concerns a solemn commitment made by the U.S. with another nation and when, as a matter of the domestic law, an international agreement... is to be abrogated by an act of Congress," they said.

But Reagan administration attorneys disagreed, saying Congress clearly intended to revoke the airline's landing rights immediately despite the bilateral agreement.

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NUDEL

(Continued from Page One)

"state secrets" before being fired from her job as an economist-engineer at the Institute for Planning and Production, where she checked hygiene standards at food stores.

Over the years, she managed to send letters and packages to prisoners of Zion and even found ways of smuggling vitamins into prison camps. In 1978, after she hung a banner from the balcony of her Moscow apartment which read, "KGB, give me my visa to Israel," she was sentenced to four years in exile, most of which she spent in the Tomsk region of Siberia, with 60 hardened male criminals, including murderers.

After the term of her sentence ended, she was prevented from returning to live in Moscow, and even for visits which were necessary for treatment of a heart condition, aggravated by her exile.

According to Yuri Shtern, spokesman for the Jerusalem-based Soviet Jewry Information Center, the crowd greeting Nudel is expect-

ed to be a far more "representative" cross-section of Israeli society than the largely religious admirers who met Natan Sharansky on his arrival in Israel almost two years ago.

In Sharansky's case, Shtern said, it was the Soviet olim themselves who organized the welcome, with the government only stepping in at the last moment when the momentary nature of the occasion became apparent. Thus he said, groups such as kibbutzim and youth movements did not have time to organize. This time, he predicted, it would be different.

Although those arranging her arrival hope that she will be able to enjoy her first night in Israel privately with her family, Nudel already has a full schedule for Friday morning.

She is due to call on Peres and Menachem Begin, as well as U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. In addition, she and Fonda are scheduled to appear in a live broadcast on the morning shows of all three major U.S. television networks.

Coalition calculations herald new Knesset term

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

The Eleventh Knesset opens its fourth and final year next Monday, but the Likud bloc long ago started counting parliamentary heads in readiness for the election, due next autumn at the latest.

The Likud began working on two fronts: neutralizing what it calls "the spoilers" while at the same time weighing up the prospect of tactical alliances, both before and after the next election.

Politicians, like generals, are tempted to plan future campaigns along the lines they fought the last, so Likud politicians assume that Ometz MK and Minister-without-Portfolio Yigael Hurvitz, who came very close to winning two Knesset seats last time, in 1984, collected votes then which would otherwise have gone to the Likud and its allies, not to the Alignment. Hence, even though Hurvitz got only one seat in the end, the Likud was quite happy this year to guarantee him two safe seats in the Likud faction, plus a third seat, in what politicians call "an unrealistic place."

The second "spoiler," Tami MK Aharon Abuhatzira, has also been guaranteed his safe seat, so the Likud can be sure he won't take votes from it and its allies.

Not that the Likud leaders particularly like Abuhatzira, or trust Hurvitz, a perennial floor-crosser. But politicians stick to their deals more often than popular opinion holds.

And the "purchase" of Hurvitz brought the Likud an extra dividend. Having entered the new cabinet of 1984 on the "side" of the Alignment, he is now on the "side" of the Likud, where he can help block the Alignment's political initiatives.

After the 1984 election, the Likud was loath to pay the price that Abuhatzira demanded for entering its "side" of the national unity coalition. So the Tami MK stayed close to the Alignment orbit, making the appropriate dovish noises. For the 12 months till the election, he will be careful about making such noises and, while he need not deliver a knee-jerk vote against dissolution of the Knesset for early elections for fear of not returning, as so many other MKs do, he must deliver the same knee-jerk vote against it, as long as the Likud orders him to do so.

Likud MK Elihu Ben-Elissar could be a key man in these configurations. He coordinated all information and propaganda for his party during the 1977 election; in the 1984 election, he was behind the Likud's policy platform, and directed information campaigns for *akademim*, as the politicians call voters with a college degree.

"The Likud has informal contacts with the Tehiya bloc about a technical alliance for the election, and about the option for a full alliance after the election. In today's terms, we account for 46 Knesset seats, and we are solidly united against the Alignment's territorial compromise line. Tami and Ometz can be

counted upon to stand with us. We would willingly guarantee Tehiya five safe seats within a joint list, but at present that will not satisfy Tehiya, which is convinced it could return more than five MKs if it ran alone. The moment Tehiya puts its political feet back on the ground, and realizes its true weight, we can reach an accommodation," Ben-Elissar predicted, stressing that he spoke unofficially. (After some public opinion polls predicted as many as eight Knesset seats for Tehiya in the event of an election, its score suddenly slumped to five seats which is its present strength.)

Ben-Elissar pointed out that if the Likud and its satellites could garner just two more seats, they would have 63 seats against the 57 held by the Alignment and those who would vote with it, including the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Communists) and the Progressive Peace List.

"That's enough to form a coalition around the Likud, which would subsequently have prospects of bringing in the Centre Movement, the successor to today's Shinui faction," Ben-Elissar speculated. "Prof. Amnon Rubinstein is the sort of man whom I think we would do well to have in a Likud-led coalition."

Ben-Elissar stressed that many MKs have come to the conclusion that a coalition with a narrow majority of 61 would be far better for the nation's parliamentary health than the

continuation of the national unity coalition in its present form.

But he cautions that if Prime Minister Shamir found himself in a position in the next Knesset where he could command no more than 61 votes, it would be far from certain that he would not plump for another national unity coalition, despite his followers' feelings.

"In a national unity coalition where there is always an automatic majority the government knows that it cannot fall, so ministers don't bother turning up, and MKs don't bother either," he grumbled. "The parliament has rendered itself redundant by creating a national unity coalition, but in so doing it runs the risk that one day the nation will also declare the parliament redundant," he warned. "The Knesset has come to hold itself in low regard because of this, and it is no wonder that the nation should also hold it in lower regard these days than ever before."

"The substance of parliament has worn threadbare and most of what remains is ritual. As a result, the image of the Knesset has been tarnished, and it will take a long time to burnish bright once more," Ben-Elissar said. "But if we want to sustain our democracy, we must bring our Knesset back to life, and this will only happen if we have a coalition versus an opposition. The moment you divest yourself of your functions, you should not be surprised if somebody points his finger at you and calls you a parasite."



MK Avraham Shapira receives a scroll from Charles Bendheim at Shaare Zedek's annual patrons' dinner on Monday night. Shapira was the evening's guest of honour. (Shlomo Marcus)

Buoyant Rabin gives Shaare Zedek boost

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A very different Yitzhak Rabin — nostalgic, emotional, humorous and making no mention of politics — spoke at the annual patrons' dinner of Jerusalem's Shaare Zedek Hospital on Monday night.

The defence minister had been selected to present the hospital's highest award, Ot Hanagid, to representatives of the three brigades that saved Jerusalem in 1948 and reunited it in 1967. The dinner was held in the Jerusalem Laromme Hotel's courtyard.

"There are two reasons why I was so happy to come here," he told the 500 patrons, who had paid \$500 a couple to take part in the event. "I was born at [the old] Shaare Zedek over 65 years ago. I don't remember, but they must have offered magnificent care, because I am alive and here today. And as an army man, I saw how the devoted hospital staff saved the lives of countless soldiers I fought with in those wars."

Ending with "thank you all for your support for such an outstanding medical institution," Rabin's off-the-cuff speech warmed the hearts of the hospital's public relations staff, who couldn't have written a better fund-raising speech.

The minister, who watched with the patrons a six-minute, scratchy black-and-white film that showed a much more youthful Rabin in uniform, did not make even the slightest mention of current affairs, even though the security situation has certainly been tense enough in recent days. With a black skullcap perched on his head, he preferred to speak only about Shaare Zedek, the hundreds of battlefield soldiers who had been hospitalized there and the

hundreds of operations performed on them.

The recipients of the award were Aluf-Mishne (res.) Eldad Avidar for the Harel Brigade (of which Rabin was the first commander in 1948), A/M (res.) Hagai Hefetz of the Jerusalem Brigade and A/M Nahshon Yisraeli of the paratroopers. There were recorded songs from the 1967 war, and each of the courses, including the baked salmon and the ribs of veal, were named after a different gate of the Old City, which was recaptured then. But there were more hitches in the dinner than in the war, as a hotel electricity short-circuit knocked out the lights for over an hour and the patrons dined by candlelight.

Agudat Yisrael MK Avraham Shapira had been chosen the dinner's "guest of honour," even though the ambience of the hospital is more religious-Zionist than Aguda-style ultra-Orthodox. But Shapira, accompanied by three of his sons, is chairman of the powerful Knesset Finance Committee, which a non-government hospital like Shaare Zedek needs for support. Shapira's sons, resplendent in their black-silk holiday coats, switched tables with their wives and children after looking heavenward and noting that the thatch was insufficient to be regarded as halachically acceptable.

It was the first time that Dr. Meir Roseman, former ambassador to Washington and now Shaare Zedek's vice-president for international relations, appeared in Jerusalem on behalf of the hospital. He is charged with fund-raising, and according to hospital sources, the mere mention of his name in Washington still sets things in motion.



Mayor Teddy Kollek welcomes a group of elderly Tel Aviv residents who were in Jerusalem yesterday for an outing organized by Abie Nathan. (Zoom 77)

Umm el-Fahm launches attack on sewage

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Umm el-Fahm, plagued by some of the worst sewage problems in the Arab sector, yesterday began work on a multimillion dollar sewage system that will eventually carry the city's waste to disposal facilities near Kibbutz Regavim, 17 kilometres away.

So far, NIS 1m. has been allocated by the Interior Ministry for the first stage of the project, the pipe to

carry the sewage to the kibbutz.

Umm el-Fahm Mayor Hashem Mahne said the second stage of the project, the construction of sewers, would be financed by a local levy. He said he hoped that buildings could start being linked to the sewers within four or five months.

In Umm el-Fahm, Israel's second-largest Arab city, raw sewage from overflowing septic tanks runs through the streets daily.

Sexual problems passé, says visiting psychiatrist

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA.—It is no longer necessary for anyone to suffer from sexual problems. During the past 20 years, effective treatment has been developed. All that needs to be done now is to inform physicians, psychologists and health care specialists of their availability. This was the message brought here yesterday by Dr. Joshua Golden, a University of California psychiatrist and director of its Human Sexuality Programme.

He is one of the university's four specialists on sexual problems who attended a symposium on "psychosexual adjustment to the loss of sexual function as a result of organic problems" held at the Dan Carmel Hotel under the auspices of Haifa's Rambam Hospital.

"Our modern cultures do not make for sexual health," he said. While all cultures consider sexual competence important, "we are not born with it. But most cultures do not yet provide an easy way to learn how to perform well when we need to," he said.

"Though we consider it normal not to have sexual difficulties, most people experience them and must learn to overcome them."

Physicians treating serious illnesses such as heart disease, cancer or diabetes consider the treatment itself a matter of life or death, which it

is, and feel uncomfortable talking about sex after the cure.

"But after the patient's life is saved, the quality of his life becomes important and that includes sexual functioning," he said.

"It is a tragic shame to give up sex because of an illness, and with proper treatment couples can in fact enhance their relationship," he held.

Dr. Yoram Vardi, who is opening a clinic for the treatment of impotence in Rambam's Urology Department, noted that while 10 years ago 90 per cent of impotence was attributed to psychological causes, today it is recognized that organic causes account for 70 per cent of the difficulties.

Vardi estimated that five to 10 per cent of men up to 50 years of age suffer from impotence problems. This figure rises to 30 per cent after 50.

One of the leading causes is smoking, because of the vascular problems it creates, he warned.

Clinical psychologist Yosef Eldad, of Rambam's sexology clinic, said public awareness of the problem was spreading and the clinic was now getting an average of 20 patients a week, most of them either the very young or very old.

"Fewer people are willing to accept sexual problems as incurable and more and more people seek help to overcome them," he said.

Appeal to world for justice; UN has files

Wiesenthal Centre list of 10 most wanted Nazis

By DAVID BAKER
For The Jerusalem Post

The Simon Wiesenthal Centre yesterday released a list of what it called the 10 most wanted Nazi war criminals and appealed to the world to bring them to justice.

Files on the 10 are among the 12,000 files in the possession of the UN War Crimes Commission. But the UN refuses to release information on the men, according to Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean of the Los Angeles-based Wiesenthal Centre.

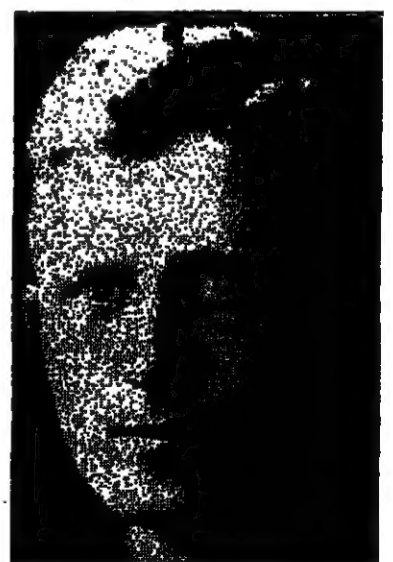
By naming names and displaying pictures for the first time, the Wiesenthal Centre hopes to enlist world pressure to open the files to researchers so that the Nazi war criminals can be found and prosecuted.

Speaking at a press conference in Jerusalem yesterday, Hier said the 38,000 names in the files include thousands of surviving Nazis. The reluctance of the 17 nations on the commission to publicize the files' contents suggests they have "something to hide," he added.

The Wiesenthal Centre recently compiled a list of suspected war criminals residing in Australia, Canada and Great Britain. But the centre has an agreement with the governments of those countries not to publicize the information while local



Alois Brunner, left, and Rolf Gunther, numbers one and ten on the Wiesenthal Centre's list.



Alois Brunner, left, and Rolf Gunther, numbers one and ten on the Wiesenthal Centre's list.

authorities are still investigating the men.

The following names appear on the centre's list of 10 most wanted war criminals:

1. Alois Brunner, 75, living in Damascus under the name Dr. Georg Fischer. He organized the deportation of Jews from France, Greece

and Slovakia.

2. Anton Burger, 76, whereabouts unknown, was a deputy commander of Theresienstadt and an aide to Eichmann.

3. Friedrich Warzok, whereabouts unknown, commander at Janowska in Lwow, Poland, was involved in the murder of more than

40,000 people.

4. Heinrich Otto Drechsler, whereabouts unknown, general commissioner of Latvia, ordered the concentration of Jews in ghettos and the surrender of their property.

5. Josef Schwabmayer, 75, commander of Posen, Poland, believed to be living in Latin America, personally murdered 50 Jews in one day.

6. Erich Gruene, whereabouts unknown, chief doctor at Maidanek death camp in Poland from 1940 to 1944 when 1.38 million people were gassed.

7. Hans Wilhelm Koenig, 75, sighted in Scandinavia, was a doctor at Auschwitz, where he worked with Dr. Josef Mengele.

8. Horst Schumann, whereabouts unknown, doctor at Auschwitz who carried out experiments in sterilization, scarring and burning victims.

9. Heinrich Mueller, rumoured to be in the Soviet Union, Gestapo head, one of few people responsible for implementing the Final Solution.

10. Rolf Gunther, whereabouts unknown, was Eichmann's deputy, took part in the deportation of Jews from Croatia and Greece, and organized the deportation of Danish Jews.

Alternate Theatre Festival winds up

Adaptation of Chilean exile's book takes top honours in Acre

By NAOMI DUDAI

ACRE.— Though they highly commended two plays dealing with Arab-Jewish relations, the judges at the Alternate Theatre Festival which ended here last night awarded the first prize to a play dealing with a more universal theme, *Almanor* (Widows), from a novel by Ariel Dorfman, an exile from Chile.

Directed and adapted by Gadi Ingmar, the production was cited for marvellous teamwork and described as an electrifying theatrical experience, to which acting, decor and costumes contributed a great deal. Transposed to

Greece, it concerns those who disappear under an oppressive regime and the women who are left.

Singled out for praise were *Bikoret Hatzot* by Sinai Peter and *Azakim* by Matti Baharav, both concerned with the Arab-Jewish issue, and *Azkemavet* by Avishai Mistein, direction and music by Shoshana Raisman.

The outstanding performances were Julie Goldstein in *Zona Tzoni* and Yonatan Cherchi in *Bikoret Hatzot*. Incidentally, Cherchi became the father of a newborn boy last night and the actor has still not seen him. Also mentioned was Judy Cooperman for her lighting in three separate plays.

Bikoret Hatzot -- sympathetic production

Whoever expected Sinai Petr of Neveh Zedek to come out with a far-left view of Tel Aviv in *Bikoret Hatzot* (Late Night Review) will be disappointed. This is a non-subjective, sympathetic, almost non-partisan production of the ambivalent relationship of a Shin Bet man and his critic wife.

Navia Lamzet started out as an unconvincing lady critic but worked up the tension and grew into the

part as this play with its subtle point of view of violence and interrogation proceeded. It did so with gathering dramatic momentum.

Jonathan Tcheriche gave a wide-ranging performance of a good-hearted gorilla loaded with mediocre charm. A well-sprung play, well written, and acted and directed with compelling restraint. It is one of the best achieved in the festival to date. Elnat Peretz's scenery set things off to a good start.

El Hakawati -- for Arabic speakers only

El Hakawati yesterday gave a one man show with Haifa's Abu Yussuf Warda playing El Hakawati, the legendary village teller of tales. The four tales he declaims here are what he calls medieval "protest" pieces, written against the domination of the Church and the Barons over the simple serfs. They touch on the ownership of lands, rape and murder, all permitted to the ruling classes by the law of the Church.

The Israeli masters are here parodied in the occupation of the Arab lands. Abu Warda, an excellent actor, is not supported here by any programme or translation, Hebrew, simultaneous, or otherwise. When El Hakawati appears in East Jerusalem they usually stretch to an explanation printed in sophisticated English. One would have thought that out of courtesy to their hosts in Acre, they could have managed as much in Hebrew.



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Ministry of Finance

TOPICS

Ida Nudel, the humane hero

Knesset Member Chaïke Grossman tells of meetings with Ida Nudel, who is due here tomorrow after a 16-year fight to leave the Soviet Union

Sarah Honig

Sixteen years of struggle have made Ida Nudel an almost mythic figure in the annals of latter-day Zionist struggles. We have all, writers and readers alike, known her for the most part from a distance. We have heard her called the "Prisoners of Zion's Angel of Mercy," and admired the mettle, grit and fortitude of the middle-aged woman in Siberian exile who was forced to spend her nights with a knife under her pillow, for fear that convicted felons around her — all made — would assault her in her sleep.

But there are those who, nevertheless, managed to meet a different Ida Nudel. When MK Chaïke Grossman (Mapam) was in Moscow last June for an international Women for Peace conference, her foot swelled up and was giving her a great deal of pain.

"Ida Nudel didn't talk much about herself and her plight, which was considerable. What troubled her was my foot," Grossman recalled in a conversation with *The Jerusalem Post*. "We came from Israel well-equipped and not lacking for anything, but when she saw my foot, the Jewish mother in Ida took over. She started running to pharmacies to get something for my foot and brought me various remedies. She didn't let it go at that, though, and kept telephoning me to make sure that I was not neglecting the foot and was applying all the medications as instructed," Grossman relates.

"Suddenly, I saw before me the Ida Nudel whom I had come to know from the descriptions given by her sister Ilana Friedman (her only relative, who was allowed to come to Israel with her family many years ago). This was the Ida who was always concerned about the welfare of others," Grossman comments. "Her sister said that Ida has dedicated her life to others, which is perhaps why she has remained single and has never started a family of her own. She never had time for herself."

Grossman wishes that Israel had the heart to see that side of Ida too. "We hunger for heroes and love them. No doubt there is a very heroic side to Ida's 16 years of unrelenting struggle. But I wish we in Israel saw her human and humane side too. I don't know how well the younger generation of refuseniks in the USSR knows Ida. But their parents' generation, the more veteran refuseniks, knows Ida best."

"For them Ida is more than a mere person. She is an institution and a concept. She did not just demonstrate and make declarations, though this sort of defiance, too, called for considerable courage. She also defied the Soviets in her own way by helping Prisoners of Zion

you what she wore, except that she was very modestly attired. She is the sort of person whose outfit doesn't register in your mind. What strikes you is her face. Photographs don't do her justice. Her face, despite all her travails, has remained younger than her 50-odd years. Her complexion is smooth and her skin almost wrinkle-free. Her eyes are penetrating and warm — the word warm must be repeated over and over again when talking about Ida."

What Grossman also found "immediately striking about Ida was that despite all the suffering she had to endure alone, she was as far removed from self-pity as could be. We found her full of the spirit of battle, despite reports to the contrary which have appeared in the media."

"I left Moscow after conversations with Soviet officials, feeling that some of the better-known refuseniks were about to be allowed out. No one said anything specific, but I could sense that. I must confess, however, that when it came to Ida, I had no such feeling. I did not think that her release was all that imminent."

Despite the seeming hopelessness of her case last summer, "Ida did not behave like a victim who needs to be coddled and protected," Grossman remembers. "In fact, I was present on several occasions when refuseniks phoned her and she gave them advice, calmly and expertly. Before us was not a broken woman, but one with much dignity and self-respect. It was hard to see her as lonely and desperate."

Grossman told *The Post* that it was "next to impossible to get Ida to tell us about her health problems, though we knew these existed. She spoke very little about her own personal problems."

The Israeli guests knew that Ida was living in a small warehouse in Bendary, because none of the locals dared rent her a flat as soon as her identity was revealed to them. The two MKs also knew that her sole companion and solace was her dog, whom she expected to take to Israel with her. The one thing she did say was that she "believed she had become a hostage to be used when the Soviets would want to get something really important out of the Americans. I don't know what sort of a bargain the Soviets made in her case, but that was how she felt and that was also the consensus among most of the refuseniks we met," Grossman reports.

She stresses repeatedly that she found "Ida quite different from the other refuseniks. Most of them were ideological firebrands. Some kept pressing us to demonstrate during our stay on behalf of aliyah from the USSR. No such request was ever made by Ida."



Ida Nudel

and their families although she was no better off than they."

Grossman, accompanied by Labour MK Ora Namir, met Ida Nudel a number of times in Moscow. They didn't go to see her in the Moldavian town of Bendary to which she had been banned after five years of punitive exile in Siberia. "Going to another Soviet republic would have required another visa. What happened was that Ida came by bus to Moscow to see us. I don't know if her trip was legal or quasi-legal, or if the authorities turned a blind eye to it. At any rate, she stayed with friends in Moscow where we saw her several times. She also came to our hotel, but we always met outside, because it was next to impossible for Soviet citizens to enter the hotel," Grossman explains.

"But she was not afraid. She allowed herself to be photographed with us and called us by phone many times."

Grossman says that she and Namir were "very excited and moved by the prospect of meeting Ida. But from the moment we said 'shalom,' we felt we were old friends. There was no embarrassment or awkwardness which you might expect on occasions of this sort and the credit for this is entirely Ida's. She has a rare talent for making you feel at ease."

Grossman remembers her as "a slight, diminutive figure. I can't tell



Chaïke Grossman (Uzi Keren)

"Other refuseniks had very clearly pronounced political positions. We kept hearing from them that under no circumstances must Israel try to achieve peace through an international conference and certainly not with Soviet participation. Over and over again, the refuseniks told us that Israel must not jeopardize its security by ceding even an inch of the territories it holds. But we never heard any such thing from Ida."

"I don't know what she thinks. Perhaps she even shares these views. But she never let on. I know that she feels deeply Jewish and that she is strongly attached to Jewish tradition. But she in no way resembles those refuseniks who have returned to religion and are sporting all the external trappings of Orthodoxy," Grossman says.

"Whatever her politics are, I felt she is not a fanatic. It should be kept in mind that she was more cut off than all the others, both in her distance from Jewish centres and in the duration of her banishment."

"Above all else, she struck me as a person who has managed to be both emotional and rational at the same time, a feat that not many can accomplish," Grossman observes. "Just as not many would have succeeded so tenaciously to hold on to their human dignity against all odds. All efforts to repress her plainly failed."

Menachem Shalev interviews Yitzhak Shamir at the end of his first year as 'rotation' leader. The prime minister is satisfied with his stand on peace.

THE GRANITE PREMIER

that this is the only way to reach the optimal conditions for peace. The question is not whether a peace arrangement is needed, or whether an arrangement will be achieved, but about the conditions for such an arrangement.

Q: You have proposed a "regional conference" in which the U.S. is slated to play a major role. Why is it that you do not rely on U.S. assurances concerning the international conference, but do rely on them in connection with the regional conference?

What is a regional conference? It is negotiations with neighbouring Arab states. If Jordan, for example, does not want to come alone, it can invite Egypt to join. I don't object to that, or to a Palestinian delegation which they can accept. The U.S. will always be in the background. It will assist, it will mediate, even if the negotiations are only with Jordan. It will mediate, help to reduce the differences, but the decision will always remain in our hands.



(P. Tikhonov/Mez)

This is the advantage of cooperation with the U.S. — this is the medium through which the U.S. can exert its influence.

Q: THE LAST YEAR has been marked by a sharp dispute between the Likud and the Labour Party over the international conference, a matter depicted by some as procedure. Are the parties as divided about the substance?

The disagreements are not about procedure, but about substance, in the final analysis. This argument has held up progress toward negotiations between Israel and her neighbours because if it had been clear that there would be no international conference, the only option left would have been direct negotiations. As long as the Arab countries believe that there is such an option, they are not willing to join direct negotiations. Direct negotiations are also not devoid of risks. There will be risks.

The dispute over the international conference is about the substance of peace, the conditions for peace, and there was clear proof of this in recent days. There was a sharp and pointed appearance of British Foreign Minister Howe before Israel's Conservative friends in which he spoke of two matters: First, he spoke against Israel's presence in Judea and Samaria. The second subject he discussed, which can be viewed as a direct conclusion of the first, was the need to go to an international conference.

The international conference has to be convened so that Israel will vacate the territories. This is the picture. Whoever lobbies today for the international conference, both in the international and the domestic arena, intends for Israel to disconnect itself from the so-called "territories." This is the dispute.

Q: Do you believe that it is Labour's intention to use the international conference to coerce the Likud into accepting its solutions for peace?

Labour's intention is to coerce the people of Israel, through the international conference, to relinquish the territories. They believe, although they won't admit it, that this is the best way to bring Israel to withdraw, under international pressure. They tell me that it's "liberal" to insist that Labour wants to withdraw to the '67 lines. These are all stories. There is no other way because the Arabs won't agree to a territorial compromise. But this is not presented plainly in Israel, and the dispute is ostensibly about procedure, about the international conference. But it's not so.

Q: But don't you think that there is a consensus between the two parties concerning the interim solution?

I support the interim solution of the Camp David autonomy, but this cannot be reached at an international conference.

Q: Is there any formula — perhaps a change of name — which could change your mind concerning the international conference?

No, it's not a problem of the name. Not for nought has Israel historically insisted on direct negotiations, because we have always felt

West which are unachievable by them today.

Here, in these talks, there is room to insert the Jewish question and to demand from the Soviets a drastic change in everything connected to the Jews. I assume that in Shultz's talks in Moscow, the matter will be raised and, therefore, I am seeking an identity of positions with Shultz. A drastic change of values should be sought in our view of this matter.

It is not a philanthropic matter, one of helping a few Jews who are suffering. It's not a matter of 20, 30 or 100 refuseniks. We must demand of the Soviet Union that they allow any Jew the right to come on aliyah to Israel, and to view it as a problem of Jewish nationality, the problem of repatriation. And it is just as important for the Soviets so that they can explain to the non-Jews why they are allowing the Jews to leave. Just like it is today with the Germans who receive repatriation permits. They are not required to prove that they have relatives in

we must not slide into a posture of fighting the Soviets. We must make a clear differentiation. We are not fighting against the Soviet regime. It is not our business. I have therefore always adamantly opposed the collaboration between some of the pro-alya activists and the dissidents.

I am not battling against Russia. The contrary is true: I am interested in better relations between Israel and the Soviet Union and her allies. But we should not be made to pay a price which damages our existential interests.

Q: You oppose Soviet involvement in the peace process?

What is the peace process? No. If they accept these things, then in my opinion, they have the right to be closely involved in the situation in the Middle East, certainly as befits a superpower. They certainly have their interests here. We talk not only to the U.S. on the situation here; we also talk to the European community. But this doesn't mean that we have to support an international conference.

In my first meeting with Gromyko, I explained this to him: Accept these two matters, and we will talk to you about the situation here. The opposition to an international conference is not because of your participation in it. I think that the conference is not the way to peace.

Q: Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze reportedly told Foreign Minister Peres that "there will be no peace without the Soviet Union and there will be no peace without the international conference."

This is a very grave statement, which I view as constituting an ultimatum. After all, it is not with the Soviets that we have to make peace. How could he say such a thing? I do not believe that an American would say such a thing, even if he thought so. It is a very negative statement. We are willing to talk to the Soviet Union on peace, anywhere. But to present this as a condition? We cannot accept such a statement.

Q: But doesn't the Soviet Union hold a key to peace here, with its influence over Syria and over the Palestinians?

At Camp David the Soviets didn't participate. Wasn't Egypt previously in the Soviet sphere of influence? The Soviets have a tactical position. They oppose any separate peace between Israel and one of the Arab countries. I cannot see what is so bad about a separate peace. They employ the line of the "comprehensive settlement" which is very difficult.

The better way is a gradual solution which is achieved step by step. And practical experience proves it. Because they oppose it, we should accept it? Everybody understands that a comprehensive settlement is much harder to achieve. When they sit together, it is obvious that the most extreme line will prevail — and the others will be hard put to reject it.

Q: HOW DO YOU react to the news of the cancellation of the funding for the VOAT?

This has no connection to bilateral relations with the U.S. The U.S. has no obligation to assist with its information apparatus and we agreed, after some hesitation, that this was not a matter of a show of U.S. friendship toward Israel, but rather Israeli consideration for U.S. interests. And if today the U.S. says that they cannot carry the plan out because of budgetary reasons, it should be viewed as they present it.

Q: It has been said that if the administration takes off certain items from the list of weapons it wishes to sell to Saudi Arabia, Israel will remove its objections.

It's possible that Shultz will raise this matter, but this is an old argument between us. The U.S. has many friends in the area, and there is sometimes a divergence of interests. We have always held that the U.S. should not sell arms — especially sophisticated weapons — to coun-

tries which are hostile to us, because it thus increases the dangers of war, of Arab aggression. And nothing has happened to make us change our minds. It was the same with the Awacs, where we lost. We, for example, do not oppose arms sales to Egypt, even though we are not overjoyed at the prospect. This is our position and we will stick to it.

Q: A member of your party, Moshe Amirav, has recently called for talks with the PLO. In your opinion, is the PLO incapable of change? And the Palestinians, who support the PLO, are they also incapable of changing?

One should differentiate between the two. The Palestinians, that is, the Arabs of the Land of Israel, is a population with its own interests.

The PLO was established before the Six-Day War with the express aim of destroying Israel. The organization, by its very essence, is not capable of talking about or deciding on peace with Israel. It is interested in negotiations — of capitulation. It is willing to reach an agreement with us — that we should be destroyed in stages.

It is mainly interested in negotiations with the U.S. — and it didn't achieve this because once, the U.S. undertook not to talk to the PLO. We should not make it any easier for them to reach this tactical goal of theirs, which for them is a stage in the annihilation of the state of Israel. They believe in this to this day; they espouse it to this day. And I have yet to see the PLO man who said that he opposes this. Such an organization cannot change its ideology, its character.

Q: Why? Are they totally devoid of pragmatism?

No. There is an ideological framework. They can change their tactics, but not their raison d'être. This cannot be changed. They have failed, suffered defeat. They have not succeeded in progressing even one millimeter. They have also failed to disrupt our lives, despite the many possibilities which they had and still have. I don't want to go into this in detail so as not to aid them. We shouldn't help them to recover from their defeat or give them diplomatic achievements which would only serve the same purpose.

We support negotiations with Arab countries and with the Arab population of Israel. The Arab states have their own interests, to survive, to progress. The PLO has one interest only: to destroy us. Q: But the population in the territories mostly supports the PLO. Do you believe that they are also incapable of change?

No. The population is passive, generally, observing from the fence. Their main wish is to survive, to exist in relative security. Sometimes their sympathies are given to one side or another. And it has yet to be proven that most of the population supports the PLO. How can this be proven, especially when PLO terror prevents personalities in the territories from expressing opposing viewpoints?

We've known this for years, before the existence of the State. The PLO is not a new phenomenon. It is an old phenomenon. It has existed since the multi and so on. They have not revised anything. We think that there is a conflict of interest between the PLO and the Palestinian Arab population and we have no wish to give the PLO the advantage. Q: There has been talk of changes in Herut, less people seem to be talking of annexing the territories, and more of the demographic problem.

There are no differences of opinion in Herut. People voice different opinions but make no demand for operative steps as a consequence of their opinion. The camp as a whole is united in the principle of the wholeness of the Land of Israel — no repatriation, no withdrawal. All the rest, well, within the frameworks of Camp David, it is accepted.

(Continued on Page 10)

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APARTMENT HOTEL

Breakthrough in Talmudic learning

IN THE late 11th century, when the Norman conquerors of England were compiling the Domesday Book and the Catholic world was gearing up for the era of the Crusades, Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki, better known as Rashi, was quietly producing a revolution.

Rashi's commentaries on the Talmud and on Scriptures very rapidly became the cornerstone of all subsequent study of the basic works of Judaism.

But it is unlikely that the minstrels and heralds of the great powers of the day made any effort to cover what the Jewish rabbi in the Alsace was up to. Those precursors of the modern media had a very limited brief, while *Le Monde*, *France Soir* and *The Times*, were regrettably not around to do a more thorough job. As for the prestigious organs from New York and Washington—well, they weren't even covering the Vikings' exploration of the North American coastline then under way.

Eight hundred years later, any major cultural event attracts a lot of attention from a rather better-informed world. But many matters of singular unimportance are sometimes invested with historic dimensions, only to be forgotten within a few years, and sometimes even weeks.

Therefore, the temptation to label things in superlative, or supra-historical terms, is dangerous and should be avoided. But, all that having been said, it is difficult to approach the *Talmud Hamevuar* of Rabbi Adin Steinsalz in any other way.

It will be at least another 50-100 years before Jewish history has delivered its verdict on this monumental piece of work, which is today only half-finished. But, as Steinsalz and his Israel Institute for Talmudic Publications stand on the threshold of their second major breakthrough in Jewish learning, there are firm grounds for an interim assessment:

The Jerusalem Post's Pinhas Landau speaks to Rabbi Adin Steinsalz, whose revolutionary commentaries on the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds may well be "one of those extremely rare watersheds in Talmudic scholarship that occur every few hundred years."

that something of dramatic, probably lasting value, has happened in the Jewish world. It may even be that "Steinsalz"—the work, rather than the man—is one of those extremely rare watersheds in Talmudic scholarship that occur every few hundred years.

Steinsalz himself is not the person to go along with this kind of analysis. Even today, with 20 volumes of his commentary to the *Babylonian Talmud* published (about halfway, in terms of the planned whole), and with the first volume of a much more revolutionary commentary to the *Jerusalem Talmud* due to appear within weeks, he had a very short, shocking answer when asked how he felt. Was he excited?

"I'm too tired," he said. By way of embellishing this bald fact, he explained that "by the time a volume actually comes out, I'm deeply involved in the next one. (He works simultaneously on different tractates in the *Babylonian* and *Jerusalem Talmuds*.) I am involved in very many things, some by choice and some that I cannot escape. I simply have no time."

That is not surprising. The scale of either of his main projects is such that a full team of normal scholars would be happy to make either of them their life's work, and would certainly exclude other activities during the years of writing. Steinsalz has some research assistance, but the main bulk of his enormous pro-

gramme falls on his frail shoulders.

EVEN THE volumes published are not finished. The demand is such that they have to be reprinted periodically, and when they are, the corrections that have accumulated—technical, stylistic or material—since the previous edition, are made. The demand for the books is the best measure of the impact of the Steinsalz commentary. The total of nearly 500,000 volumes sold to date is only one indication of success. The incredible range of people who buy it is a better one. Tora scholars, including many leading "ultra-Orthodox" rabbis, laymen of various levels of learning, religious high-school students, beginners in Talmud from every strata of society in Israel and the Diaspora, including irreligious kibbutzim—in short, everyone who can understand Hebrew and is involved in studying *Gemara*—are his customers.

Collectors of anecdotal information can assess the following item: One day Steinsalz returned home to find a stranger at his door. The man introduced himself as a Russian Jew, arrived that very day from Vienna. "I came here as soon as I reached Jerusalem because I wanted to greet my teacher. In Leningrad, I came to grips with *Gemara* through your commentary."

As an aside, it may be noted that in the Western Diaspora, where people don't take studying Hebrew

as seriously as they do in Russia, Steinsalz's public is limited by the very fact that his commentary is in modern Hebrew. The inevitable outcome is the plan for an English version that will be "no mere translation, but rather a new educational tool," to quote the blurb.

If you think that's media hype, the fact that by way of preparation for the task, Steinsalz spent several years lecturing on the Talmud to English-speaking laymen, may persuade you otherwise. His English, this reporter can testify, is up to the job, not to speak of several other languages he has reputedly mastered. The widespread appeal of the Steinsalz Talmud is clear evidence both that the daring conception was correct, and that the execution was effective. "It is constructed to be of use to everyone," he explains.

It is made into "compartments" which have different purposes. That was the original outline, and it has not been substantially changed since work began in the mid-60's. "The Talmud was basically an attempt to put into writing my own lectures, which were always given to a very diverse audience with different levels of knowledge. Therefore, everyone finds importance in a different part, while very few can get equal use from all the sections."

Steinsalz admits frankly that the model for what he was trying to do was Rashi. "I always sought to try and write the way Rashi wrote, not

the way Tosafot wrote." That explains, in a nutshell, why Steinsalz's commentary represents a new departure. Rashi wrote the basic commentary on the (Babylonian) Talmud, and the Tosafot, written by generations of scholars after Rashi, including many from his own family, are based on taking the discussion further, while resting on Rashi as their foundation.

In fact, pretty well all Talmudic scholarship for the last 800 years has had Rashi's commentary as its basis. Steinsalz himself does not seek to do the unimaginable and replace Rashi. "In the *Babylonian Talmud*, I have it relatively easy, because I rest on Rashi's broad shoulders, and follow in his way," Steinsalz notes. By "using Rashi" as a model he means that he tries to keep his comments terse and straightforward. "If one can produce a commentary which creates the impression that there are no problems, that everything is smooth and straightforward, to me that is the supreme level, not the lowest level. Rashi is profound, but he doesn't show it. He clears up difficulties without letting on that they were there in the first place, and he gives new insights without highlighting them as such. It's a hard act to follow, but I try to do the same. To get the maximum amount of content into the minimum number of words, making these as simple as possible, not convoluted statements, questions and answers. "Like," and here comes Steinsalz's wry smile, sharing a basically private joke, "an English philosopher, not a German one with his long-winded, winding sentences."

The page of the Steinsalz Talmud, therefore, contains the text of the *Gemara* itself, pointed and punctuated, with Rashi's commentary in Rashi script and Tosafot in regular Hebrew block letters, both on the inside of the *Gemara*. On the margin of the page is Steinsalz's running commentary, which basically trans-



Rabbi Adin Steinsalz

(Mike Goldberg)

lates the text into modern Hebrew, with amplifications to flesh out the abbreviated Talmudic style. Below this are "insights" in which Steinsalz summarizes or notes the main themes of discussion in later (i.e., post-Rashi/Tosafot) Talmudic literature, and the halachic rulings that stem from the subject matter discussed in the *Gemara*. Finally, on the outermost column, Steinsalz has additional sections covering alternative and variant texts, brief biographical notes on personalities mentioned on that page, data including archaeological, zoological, botanical and historical information on places, events, flora and fauna that appear in the Talmudic discussion, and, finally, a language or philology section in which the Greek, Roman, Persian and Arabic words and phrases in the Talmud are traced to their roots and explained, and the old French terms used by Rashi, and sometimes Tosafot, are translated.

The format of the pages is such that each two pages of Steinsalz begin and end with the words of the standard Talmud editions, so that the pagination is kept to a uniform model. All this is capped by what is, to many, the most useful single aspect of the whole work, namely the summaries of tractates, chapters and sections that introduce and/or end each relevant part.

NEEDLESS to say, there is plenty of criticism. There are those who criticize the whole thing, and those who criticize the various constituent parts. Overall, Steinsalz says, the "ideological" criticism of the whole work has been less fierce than might have been expected of such a novel, even revolutionary, undertaking. He quotes one leading Jerusalem ultra-Orthodox rabbi as saying to him that "the Jewish people have given you their approval." That, as he well knows, is the ultimate arbiter. He quotes the well-known statement in the *Zohar* (he is, by the way, a leading expert in Jewish mysticism and has written widely on the subject in both Hebrew and English) that "everything needs luck, even the Scroll of the Law in the Ark," and rattles off numerous great works by a string of Jewish luminaries over the past thousand years that were lost altogether, or were buried in manuscript for centuries, or simply failed to "catch on" with the studying public, despite their inherent value.

In the world of the mainstream yeshivot, Steinsalz's *Talmud Mevuar* has caught on very slowly, although it does seem to be gradually becoming more accepted. "It annoyed a lot of people," its author acknowledges, but he believes that it could be most useful precisely in those circles. "There has been (in the last few generations) a general decline in the level of learning demanded and achieved. The result is that most of the average yeshiva student's time goes on the basic task of understanding what the *Gemara* is talking about—something that never used to be the case."

"Because of the lower standards all along the line, the teenage yeshiva student hasn't got the thorough background in *Mishna* and *Gemara* that he used to have, and before he can start his 'yegia batara' (labouring in the Torah) on advanced stuff, he must make great effort to master the text he is engaged in."

"I am trying to shorten this process and thus to help raise the overall standard. In the same way as a person wouldn't take a torn book

and try to figure out what letters and words are missing, he doesn't need to waste so much effort filling in the gaps in his background knowledge that hold him back from advanced study. There is no point—it is wrong—to create obstacles and to call the effort expended in surmounting them 'labouring in the Torah'."

If Steinsalz's shortcuts and programme for coming to grips with the *Babylonian Talmud* have found widespread approval and success, it will be even more fascinating to see what happens to his far more ambitious *Jerusalem Talmud*. Whereas the attempt to open up the *Babylonian Talmud* to the masses may be compared to Rashi's epoch-making achievement, a similar attempt to do the same for the *Jerusalem Talmud* would be unprecedented—if it worked. The shorter *Jerusalem Talmud* is far more difficult, because of language and textual problems, than even the difficult tractates of the *Babylonian*. The main reason it has remained a closed book, even to many learned people, despite the commentaries on it, is very simple: there is no Rashi on it. There isn't even anything approaching Rashi's level of clarity.

For Steinsalz, then, the challenge is far greater. Unable to base himself on Rashi, and faced with a task intrinsically far more difficult, he has to do a great deal more than in his *Babylonian Talmud* commentary, and do it all himself. If he succeeds, and despite his undoubted genius and ferocious application, the odds of the last 1,600 years since the *Jerusalem Talmud* was completed are strongly against him, he will have notched up an amazing personal triumph and, quite possibly, changed the basic curriculum of Jewish learning for all future generations.

"I try to invest my efforts in matters that I believe are significant," says the 50-year old Rabbi Adin Steinsalz, in an attempt to explain why he does what he does, and why he doesn't do other things. "I am involved in matters that I believe will have an influence in the long term—50 or 100 years."

"People think that the things that make a noise are what is important, because they make headlines today. But this is an illusion, even in terms of this world. The really important things are those that will be valid in five, 10 and 50 years. I try to train myself to ask about any issue: 'What will this be considered in two or three years, if it will be considered at all.' That's a starting point for assessing things."

That's why, among others, I have never been involved in politics, although I have met and known most of the leading politicians over the years. Politicians are only interested in the short-term, tomorrow and next week, at most until the next elections. But the vital socio-economic, and certainly religious processes at work in society develop over decades, if not generations.

"Furthermore, the politicians have no interest in domestic affairs, above all education and its importance to the Jewish people. Shamir and Peres are examples of politicians lacking vision and without interest in long-term trends. Even Ben-Gurion was not taken up with issues of internal policy. But these are within their power to influence, unlike problems of foreign affairs and defence where we have little independence, and where the Arabs will be a party to any solution."

These are some of Steinsalz's general observations that serve as background to his Talmud projects.



AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

The following are excerpts from a statement of the American Jewish Congress on the Middle East peace process. Fully cognizant that the actual decisions can only be taken by Israel's citizens and its government, our views are offered not as political partisans but in the hope that they will contribute constructively to the current national debate in Israel.



A STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

The Jews of the United States and Israel

We know the wrenching debate and painful self-reflection taking place within Israel in an effort to define and implement a prudent and just course towards peace. Because of our deep engagement with the people of Israel and with their fate, we think it appropriate and necessary in the present stalemate to participate in the current historic debate.

The Current Situation

For the past 20 years, Israel has administered the territories in the West Bank and Gaza, an area now populated by 1.5 million Palestinian Arabs. The occupation has been relatively benign: certainly Palestinian Arabs in these territories enjoy a degree of personal and communal freedom virtually unknown elsewhere in the Arab world, and a level of economic prosperity unattainable under Jordanian rule. However, the authoritarian and repressive political cultures of the Arab world are hardly the standard to which Israel should aspire. Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza are perceived as hostile occupiers. Continued Israeli rule of a resentful Arab population must lead to repressive measures that, in the long run, cannot but distort and corrupt the values we associate with a Jewish state.

The Demographic Problem

Recent studies indicate that

Arab population growth will rapidly transform "Greater Israel"—Israel plus the West Bank and Gaza—into a de facto bi-national state, politically and culturally. The most reliable projections by Israeli demographers conclude that an Israeli child born today can expect to enter high school in a land in which the Arab population virtually equals the Jewish population—it is that soon. If no significant political adjustments are effected, the demographic imperatives will force Israel of that time, if not before, to choose between becoming a non-Jewish state by granting Arabs in the territories full citizenship, or a non-democratic state by not doing so. Neither choice, it seems to us, is acceptable.

The Quest for Peace

The quest for peace has been a constant of Jewish life and tradition. The success of that quest in the Middle East has been hampered by Arab intransigence and obdurate refusal to accept the legitimacy of a Jewish state in the area. But the fact of that refusal must never become a reason for abandoning or diminishing our own pursuit of peace.

Large numbers of Israeli and American Jews are convinced that there are realistic alternatives to the status quo that would enhance Israel's security and would avoid the demographic and other dangers of continuing an unavoidably hostile occupa-

tion. A position that calls for maintaining the status quo or the annexation of the occupied territories severely hampers the development of such alternatives.

International Peace Conference

We believe the proposal for an International Peace Conference deserves much more serious consideration.

We understand and agree with the preference of many Israeli leaders for bilateral negotiations with Jordan under the aegis of the United States pursuant to the Camp David process. That approach has many advantages over the proposed International Peace Conference, and if it were available as a political reality it would be the preferable course to follow. Unfortunately, King Hussein has made it clear that he requires an international "imprimatur" to protect him from PLO extremists—and will engage in direct negotiations with Israel only in the context of an international forum sponsored by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council: the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France and China.

On the other hand, the written understandings reached between Foreign Minister Peres and King Hussein, and the safeguards they contain, have not been adequately stressed or acknowledged. If these conditions can reasonably be assured, we believe that the international conference satisfies in sufficient

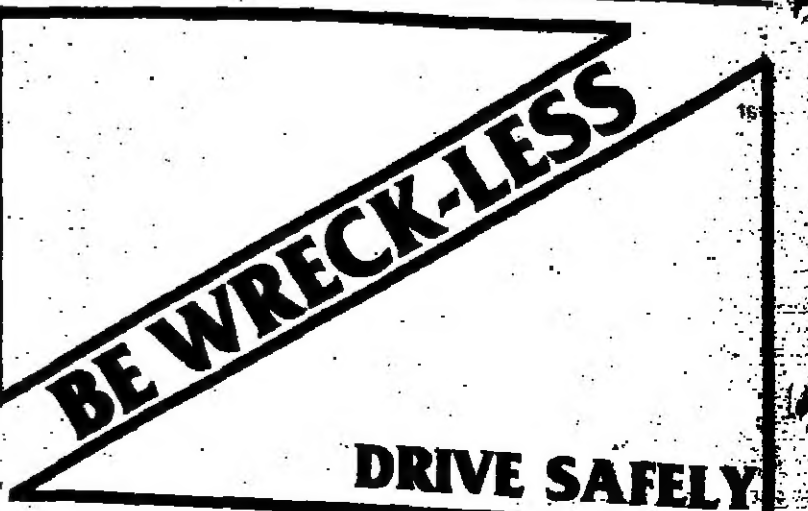
measure Israel's insistence over the past 39 years that peace can be achieved only in direct, face-to-face negotiations.

In these circumstances, the risks to be evaluated are risks of having to leave the conference table and suffer condemnation as the party that broke up the conference. These risks may be public relations risks, but they are not security risks and they do not outweigh the substantial benefits that direct negotiations even under an international conference might bring: namely, genuine movement toward peace, the drafting of a consensual set of compromises, whether territorial or functional, that would remove the stigma and opprobrium suffered by an embattled occupier, and the relief of Israel and its supporters from the anguish involved in the daunting choice between a non-democratic repressive state and a non-Jewish bi-national state.

We offer our views with a sense of modesty, appropriate to our awareness that we are not as directly accountable as are Jews in Israel. Nevertheless, we are persuaded that the risks both to Israel and to ourselves, of announcing our views, are far less than the risks of remaining silent and external to this historic debate.

Theodore R. Mann,
President
Paul S. Berger,
Chair, Governing Council
Henry Siegman,
Executive Director
David Clayman,
Director, Israel Office

To obtain the full text of the statement, apply to the American Jewish Congress, 3 Mapu Street, Jerusalem.



THE ODYSSEY OF A PRAYER

Abraham Rabinovich tells of the trek of a scribe from the Yemen to Jerusalem 100 years ago to write a prayer book, and how the book went into battle with a Yemenite tank commander during the Yom Kippur War

A RICH AND pious Jew in Yemen indulged a century ago in the most extravagant fancy a rich and pious Yemenite Jew could indulge: obtaining for his personal use a *siddur* (prayer book) handwritten in Jerusalem.

Since prayer books were for a long time being produced by printing presses, he dispatched a scribe from Yemen to the Holy City in 1888, ordering him to write him one. Only six years before, the first Yemenite Jew had made the long trek back from an exile presumed to have begun in the days of the First Temple. Like them, the scribe is believed to have made his way on foot to Aden, embarked on a ship to Port Said, taken the railway to Jaffa, and walked to Jerusalem.

For five years, the faithful scribe remained in Jerusalem. He apparently lived with the small Yemenite community in caves in the Arab village of Silwan just outside the walled city, the established Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish communities unwilling at first to believe that they were not Arabs.

The scribe wrote the *siddur* in black ink made from soot in the traditional manner, using paper coloured a light brown. The work was ostensibly done in front of the Western Wall where scribes writing pray-

ers for *mezzuzot* or *fillin* often sat.

The Yemenite evidently had contact with Kabbalistic rabbis because he incorporated into the work Kabbalistic references which had their origin in Safed. Many of these references would be illuminated with red-blue decorations around the script.

When the scribe, whose name is unknown, returned to Yemen, he presented his two-volume, 750-page work to his wealthy patron, whose name is also unknown. Some 60 years later, the *siddur* returned to Jerusalem when the bulk of Yemenite Jewry was flown to the newborn state of Israel in Operation Magic Carpet.

Still owned by the descendants of the wealthy man who had commissioned it, the prayer book was sold shortly after their arrival to a fellow Yemenite who had emigrated in the 1930s — Rabbi Yehya Garmi, a dealer in holy books used by the Yemenite community. Garmi was also a cantor in his synagogue in Jerusalem and used the *siddur* when leading the service.

The elder Garmi died 25 years ago and the *siddur* or Jerusalem *Tikkal*, as it is known, would continue to be used by his son, Shmuel. An independent diamond-cutter in Netanyahu, Shmuel Garmi kept the *tiklal*

in his safe when not in use. He was praying from it on Yom Kippur in 1973 when the army courier arrived in the synagogue to announce mobilization.

A commander of a World War II vintage Sherman tank, Garmi the next day was with the first tank battalion to climb the Golan Heights to support the this line of regulars who had been holding the Syrian army at bay. There had been no time to go home and in Garmi's tank were the prayer shawl he had taken from the synagogue and the *tiklal*.

Many of the men in his unit had been together since the Sinai Campaign, 17 years earlier and they had gone together through the Six Day War as well. In the first day's battle on the Golan against advanced Soviet T-62 tanks, the battalion commander and three company commanders were killed and 37 of the unit's tanks knocked out.

Weeks later, a *Jerusalem Post* reporter came across Garmi's unit deployed in the mud opposite the Syrian lines. The short, thin-bearded tank commander wore a stocking cap on his head to ward off the cold, and his wit and ready smile seemed to buoy up his crew. In the course of the conversation, the reporter asked the reservist how his livelihood was affected by his extended mobilization.



Shmuel Garmi on the Golan battlefield.

(Rabinovich)

"Oh," he said with apparent cheerfulness, "financially, I'm ruined."

Garmi had survived but his business was indeed ruined. To rebuild his bankrupt fortunes, he departed for Belgium after the war with his wife and two children to become a diamond merchant. He arrived in Brussels with hardly a coin in his pocket, but, in the ensuing decade, achieved enough of a measure of comfort to return with his family to Israel to engage in "more important things" than making money.

Following in his father's footsteps, Garmi decided to be a purveyor of holy books. Instead of merely distributing them or collecting them for his own pleasure, he would publish them. The enterprise would be carried out through the Israel Association for Yemenite Society and Culture which he had established with a few friends.

First priority went to a facsimile production of the *tiklal* (an Arabic word meaning complete, in the sense of complete prayer book). It has been reproduced in a form that is 20 per cent larger than the original for easier legibility but is otherwise a faithful reproduction. Among the addendums provided by the scribe is

a section on interpretation of dreams.

"I want to publish this on the 25th anniversary of my father's death, in my parents' memory," he said this week. "Next year is also the hundredth anniversary of the scribe's arrival in Jerusalem."

According to Shlomo Zucker of the manuscripts department of the National Library, the Jerusalem *Tikkal* is the only Yemenite *siddur* known to have been written in Jerusalem.

"It is a prayer book for the whole year according to the ancient texts of the Jews of Yemen with the interpolation of *piyyutim* (lyrical embellishments to traditional prayers) written by the classic Spanish poets and the Kabbalistic mystical poets. The scribe sought to preserve the tradition of literary culture of the Jews of Yemen as much as possible."

Zucker describes the script as "very attractive Yemenite writing in 19th-century style."

The handwritten, vowelized script, says Garmi, will give contemporary Jews an idea of what it was like to pray before the advent of the printing press.

The cost of the *tiklal* in Israel is NIS 250; the cost abroad is \$220. Copies can be obtained from the General Council of the Yemenite



Community at 65 Prophets Street, POB 675, Jerusalem.

Garmi says he has covered the \$80,000 of the project out of his own pocket. Any profits are to be used, he says, to publish other ancient Yemenite manuscripts. The next project planned is a reproduction of a 300-year-old Yemenite text of the five books of the Pentateuch.

Probably few of the *piyyutim* in the *tiklal* could match in sweep the brief history of the Jerusalem *Tikkal*

itself — a pious man a century ago indulging his vision of Jerusalem's sanctity, a scribe and scholar trekking out in the Arabian Peninsula, guided by his own vision, a Magic Carpet carrying their tribe back from an exile of thousands of years and with them, the handwritten Jerusalem *siddur*, the *tiklal* itself riding inside a tank on Yom Kippur to war and survival. A story of a prayer book; a story that is itself very much like a prayer.



Bronfman's pledge on Soviet Jewry

Charles Hoffman

AN ANCIENT Jewish ritual was re-enacted this week in the suca at the Laronne Hotel in Jerusalem, as Jews anxious about the fate of their relatives under an oppressive regime brought their pleas before a *shadlan*, a rich and powerful prince of their people, asking him to intercede on their behalf.

Parents, children and friends of Soviet Jewish refuseniks came one by one before Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, telling him and the others assembled about the years of waiting, the arbitrary actions of the Soviet authorities, the separated families, the persecutions and the other woes inflicted on those waiting for the precious exit visa to Israel.

When his aides signalled him that time was up, Bronfman waved them off and motioned for the other Soviet immigrants anxiously awaiting a hearing to present the cases of their friends and relatives. The letters they submitted to him would be added to the thick file of cases of refuseniks which accompanies Bronfman on his periodic trips to Moscow.

At the conclusion of these presentations, Bronfman pledged to "redouble my efforts to resolve these cases and the thousands of others that are still before us. I pledge to continue the efforts of my predecessor, Nahum Goldmann, who said that we must fight for the right of all Soviet Jews who want to come to Israel to do so, and to see that those Jews who remain there can live in dignity as Jews."

Talking later in a quiet corner of the hotel, Bronfman appeared perplexed about how he would present these cases on his next visit to Russia.

"How can I take this letter or another one and say to the Soviet officials across the table, 'we want this one,' or 'we want that one?' As much as I was moved by the stories that I just heard, there are others that are worse. We have to work for

all of them.

"Of course there are specific cases of refuseniks like Ida Nudel that we brought up again and again. At least 20 times I heard the Soviets say that they would never let her go."

Considering the impending release of Nudel, and the recent arrival of other prominent refuseniks in Israel, Bronfman noted that *glasnost* (openness) and the other currents of change in Soviet society are "for real." He added that "now is a good time for action, but we may not have that much time" for a real improvement in the situation of Soviet Jews.

BRONFMAN, WHO moved his business operations from Canada to New York some years ago, is chairman and chief executive of the Seagrams liquor empire and the major stockholder in Dupont. Since becoming head of the WJC in 1981, Bronfman has made many trips to the Soviet Union on behalf of Soviet Jews. Usually, he said, these visits are unpublicized.

An exception occurred last March, when word of his trip to Moscow with Morris Abram, chairman of the U.S. National Conference on Soviet Jewry, was leaked to the press. Bronfman took a lot of flak at that time from refuseniks and others for supposedly making a deal with the Soviets that allowed them to impose their terms for increasing the number of exit visas.

"There was no deal," Bronfman sharply commented. "We had nothing to offer them in return. The Soviets just told us what they planned to do. And they are living up to it, even if it is slower than we had hoped."

"They told us that between 10,000-12,000 refuseniks and their families would be allowed to leave within a year. And we understood that there would be some cases that they would be difficult about."

The Soviets also promised to ease certain restrictions on Jewish cultur-

al life, such as harassment of those engaged in teaching Hebrew and Judaism.

"They talked about the possibility of opening new synagogues, and they opened another *miqve* (ritual bath) in a Moscow synagogue. A kosher restaurant is operating in Moscow, and one will probably be opened in Leningrad soon. They also said that they would not jam a weekly radio programme that Rabbi Essas is preparing for broadcast in the coming months."

Bronfman's efforts secured the release in late 1985 of Rabbi Eliahu Essas, a leader of the religious revival among Soviet Jewry.

Bronfman noted that what was significant about the talks on religious matters was that they were discussed matter-of-factly with the chairman of the State Committee on Religion. "In previous talks, they always put us off by accusing us of interfering in their internal affairs."

Bronfman and Abram were also promised that a system would be set up under the auspices of the Supreme Soviet to review cases of applicants for exit visas who were refused by lower-ranking officials. He said that he had just received word that this appeals system has been operating for the past two months, and that all of the several dozen appeals brought before it had been granted and these people are now free to leave.

Like others closely involved in efforts on behalf of Soviet Jews, Bronfman too has his theory of what makes the Russians tick.

"They are very determined to do what they want to do. For them, to be seen currying favour with someone or giving into pressures from the outside is very repugnant. The only way to talk to them is to put your case in terms of their own interests. And they like to handle only one thing at a time."

"It is also hard for them to do something that is explicitly against their policies. With Jewish cultural life, they will just let things happen, as long as it is not official. Their law prohibits teaching religion to people under 18. So they will stop interfering with Hebrew studies, but won't let Jews register officially as Hebrew teachers."

"My basic argument with them has been that their policy has put Jews in an unnatural position. Usually, when things in general are going good, it's good for the Jews. And when things go bad, the Jews are usually worse off than others. Now, with the improvement in East-West relations, things are getting better."

"But what the Russians have done is to force the Jews of the world into supporting a continuation of the Cold War, because of the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The Russians could reverse this by treating their Jews better."

Now is an opportune time to act on behalf of Soviet Jewry, Bronfman stressed several times in the interview. This assessment is not linked to a specific event such as the approaching summit, but to trends that could extend over the next three to four years, assuming that Gorbachev holds his current course.

"With *glasnost* and *perestroika* (economic restructuring), and with better East-West relations and the prospect of arms reductions, the Soviets are looking forward to a mass import of technology from America. But it has been made clear to them that this can't happen without an improvement in the situation of Soviet Jewry. Congress is dedicated to linking any economic concessions to the Soviets with human rights issues."

WJC leader hears pleas from members of separated families

and the Soviet Jewish issue is seen as the litmus test of human rights."

He added, however, "that the Jewish issue could never get in the way of arms control" issues in East-West relations. "That would be immoral."

Like others, he is also wondering what the Soviets will do about exit visas when the 10,000-12,000 refuseniks now on the books are out, as expected, during the course of the coming year.

"I just can't believe that they would shut the door again. That would be very foolish for them, given current East-West trends and the role that they are seeking in the Middle East. But we have no assurances that once the 12,000 are out, another 10,000-15,000 will be allowed to leave."

"There is only the logic of the

situation to guide us. With the Soviets' desire for arms reductions, economic ties with the West and technology transfers, they'll have to pay further attention to the Jewish issue."

IN ANY CONVERSATION with Bronfman, the subject of Austrian President Kurt Waldheim and his Nazi past naturally surfaces, if only because interviewers insist on bringing it up.

The so-called Waldheim issue has very little to do with him personally. His position as president of Austria is of no concern. He has shown us that he is a liar and an immoral opportunist. What do I want from him? Anything he does now is too late.

But with the Austrian people we must seek an admission of complicity in the Holocaust. They must seek

atonement—that is the proper word for this time of year. What we can't accept from them or from Waldheim is the trivialization of the Holocaust."

He laughs off the prospect of Waldheim slapping him with a libel suit, for Bronfman's relentless campaign to expose his connection to war crimes and his attempts to hide his past. "The (expletive deleted) should only sue me — I'd run to Austria as fast as I could!"

Another subject that exercises Bronfman these days is what he regards as the "disgusting" behaviour of American Jewish leaders before and during Pope John Paul II's recent visit to the U.S. The WJC was the only member of the International Committee on Interreligious Consultation, which is world Jewry's official channel to the Vatican, that

boycotted the meetings of Jewish leaders with the pope in Rome and Miami.

"My conclusion from this affair is that if there is to be yet another 'new beginning' for relations between the Vatican and the Jews, then it must be a beginning with Vatican substance and Jewish dignity."

Until now, he said, no doubt alluding to the pope's meeting with Waldheim, "all we have received is a new slap with each new start. And there was no Jewish dignity at Rome and Miami, with Jews running around getting their pictures taken with the pope, so that they could have something to show their grandchildren."

Clearly, for a *shadlan* in Bronfman's league, a missed meeting with the pope is no special cause for regret.

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A HOLIDAY SPECIAL FOR READERS OF THE JERUSALEM POST



Twins go through to World Series



Mikhail Agursky argues that although Soviet policy towards Israel has changed, the USSR will need to make a great deal of effort if it is to persuade Israel public opinion that the change is not purely tactical

How to win friends and influence refuseniks

THERE IS NO question as to the harmful character of the minuscule pressure-groups of former Soviet Jews in Israel, whose activities are encouraged and subsidized in order to torpedo the peace process. But a deeper look at this phenomenon will show clearly that it is an outcome not only of the brutal Soviet policy of harassing Jews wanting to emigrate, but, more generally, of the long-standing Soviet anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist policy.

Since 1971, when the authorities decided to permit massive Jewish emigration, they have done their best to antagonize all those allowed to leave. In fact, a Soviet Jew could not leave the USSR without being harassed, even if he did not invite a confrontation with the authorities.

Anyone who applied for an emigration visa was immediately subjected to various kinds of humiliation. He had to receive a "character" from his former place of employment, and when he went to get it he came under vicious attack. Every piece of paper needed by a Jew in the course of his emigration process was issued to him to an accompaniment of insults, and threats. And these emigrants were not even refuseniks.

It seems to have been the deliberate policy of the Soviet authorities to be as brutal as possible and not to leave any Jewish emigrant with any pleasant memories of his former country. Any goodwill on his side was also cruelly rejected. I well remember the demonstration staged in front of the Lebanese embassy in protest against the massacre of the Israeli Olympic sportsmen in Munich in September 1972. There was a heavy aura of provocation around the event. The hundreds of policemen, mostly of high rank, assembled to the vicinity made no attempt to prevent the activists from approaching the embassy. Not until some 50-70 Jews were gathered in front of the building were they surrounded by the police, who began bundling them into police vans.

When I told the policeman who was pushing me that I could get in by myself, he started to hit me, shouting, "I'll show you how to get into a van by yourself!"

IT WAS almost impossible to be a quiet refusenik, peacefully awaiting one's turn. The authorities did everything possible to antagonize us, to create problems for us, and to get us involved in protests that were never prevented, and were sometimes even encouraged. The authorities did their best to turn all Jewish emigrants into committed enemies of the USSR.

In 1985, a certain Professor K. who had just arrived in Israel from the USSR, staged an anti-Soviet demonstration. A Soviet guest attending an international conference in Jerusalem at the time was shocked by the behaviour of this new immigrant. I explained to him that the Soviet authorities themselves were responsible, because of their efforts to antagonize him.

Now, when the USSR has become interested in normalizing Soviet-Israeli relations, it is faced with the results of its previous stupidity and

U.S. Jewry's dilemma: To speak up or not

Abraham H. Foxman

IT HAS ALWAYS been with us. It is a product of a profound and complex relationship. The closer we get the more pronounced it becomes.

I refer to the dilemma that faces American Jewry with regard to Israel: To speak or not to speak? Over the last 40 years, the state has become the focus of Jewish communal life in America. Some have called it our secular religion. A love affair, not at first sight, but one that evolved out of need, out of pride, out of security, out of insecurity. The greater the intensity of the feeling the stronger the desire to be involved, to have a say.

However, we told ourselves and we were told that while it is good to be involved there are limits, the most significant limit being that decisions relating to security must rest with Israel, not American Jews, because the consequences of those decisions could mean life or death for the people of Israel.

And now that constraint is being challenged, from without and from within. Not for the first time to be sure — there have always been individuals or political figures, here or in Israel, who have urged "for the good of Israel" that we speak out. Some wanted criticism of Israeli settlements policy; others of the Camp David accords; still others of the war in Lebanon. But it was not a mainstream challenge and could readily be minimized.

Today, it is the foreign minister of Israel and a major American Jewish organization who invite our involvement. The American Jewish Congress issued a statement supporting the international conference proposal. And Shimon Peres, at a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, encouraged, perhaps implicitly, American Jewish groups to express their views publicly on the peace process, even if those views contradict positions taken by Israeli leaders.

Let's be clear: The issue is not whether Labour or Likud is correct concerning an international conference. It may well be that Mr. Peres' perception that the conference offers a unique opportunity for peace is right; or that Mr. Shamir's view that a conference is dangerous is on target.

What is at stake is the critical role the American Jewish community has played in support of Israel in the United States. It has never been a

question, as some would have it, of the right of the Jewish community to speak out. As Americans we take for granted that we have a right to voice opinions and resent anyone's suggesting otherwise. Rather it has been a question of responsibility, not only concerning the consequences for Israelis on the front lines, but for the future ability to work on behalf of Israel's security and American interests in the Middle East.

Much has been written about the impact of American Jewry on the Middle East policy of the U.S. Some exaggerate that impact as a way of undermining support for Israel. That the community has been a significant, though not dominant, element in U.S. support of Israel is beyond dispute. It has been so exactly because U.S. officials have recognized the determination of the community, irrespective of individual differences of opinion, to work in unison on behalf of Israel on matters of basic interest. What kind of impact would we have had on such matters as aid to Israel, arms sales, and the various U.S. plans — Rogers, Carter, and Reagan — without this unity?

NOW, IN EFFECT, it is postulated that things have changed, that it is vital that the American Jewish community abandon its long-standing posture of restraint and unity. But what has changed? Surely not the need for strong Jewish community support for Israel. The agenda is a full one and likely to become more so in the years ahead. Aid to Israel will be criticized because of U.S. budget cuts. New arms sales to the Arabs are already in the works. Significant differences exist between Israel and even a strongly pro-Israel Reagan administration on issues such as Jerusalem and the 1967 borders. And who knows what problems will surface following the 1988 presidential election.

Should American Jews enter the Israeli internal political fray, our effectiveness on the American scene will surely be diminished. With the dangerous precedent established and given sanction, a free-for-all is likely to ensue. The very meaning of community action will be placed in question.

What then ought we to do? We can continue to support the people and elected officials of Israel however they choose to resolve the difficult problems before them. It is not as if there will be no opportunities for such — an election will be held at the latest in October 1988. And it is not inappropriate to point out that the most reasonable way to move the people of Israel to decisions concerning the future would be if an Arab leader were to come forward unequivocally the way Anwar Sadat did. We still ought to focus our energies on that matter.

None of this is intended to minimize the natural desire of the Jewish community to be a true partner with the state and people of Israel. It is impossible to expect the community to increase its involvement with Israel without some corresponding increase in its role as a partner.

The real question is how to bring about greater American Jewish involvement without creating a destructive free-for-all. The answer, as it is with regard to the aliyah question, lies in increased Jewish education on all levels. The more Jewish education there is, the deeper the connection to Israel, and the more profound the realization that the ties to Israel are not merely political and related to security but involve a totality of interests.

In that regard, American Jews should be encouraged to speak out on social and moral issues in Israel which affect Jews everywhere and which relate to the meaning of Israel for Jews. Such matters as "Who is a Jew," the evolving meaning of Zionism, and other ethical problems are the proper domain of all Jews who feel a connection to the Jewish state. Also a matter such as the Pollard affair, with its direct implications for U.S.-Israel relations, is inescapably one for American Jewish concern.

Meanwhile, on the political level we should encourage increasing dialogue between American Jewry and Israel. An outspoken American Jewry, however, will not resolve Israeli disputes over security matters. Nor should it. Rather, it is to continue its historic role of leading the successful pro-Israel effort in the U.S. — among the public, in communities across the country, in the Congress.

The writer is national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

READERS' LETTERS

NO DEBATE WITH RABBI KAHANE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Rabbi Meir Kahane wants to debate with me in Providence, Rhode Island. He says no one will debate with him. So he writes me, "Defamation is the last refuge of non-thinkers, which is the real reason that American Jewish leaders refuse to debate with me on the great issues of the day."

"Because of this, I am extending to you an invitation to hold a major national debate in Providence, in which we can present to the people the real issues and our answers to them."

No, Rabbi Kahane, I will not debate with you, for three reasons.

First, I cannot enter into a debate if my mind is closed. And my mind is closed to racism, which is the real issue you represent.

Second, I regard as not subject to reasoned debate positions you have taken on Jewish public policy. You want to expel people from their rightful place.

Third, Providence, Rhode Island, stands in all its polyglot diversity and loving tolerance of difference for everything you deny.

You see us Jews, holy "Israel" the people, as God's first love, and so do I. But that is lost in time, not in priority. God loves the Arabs too. You don't. You're a racist.

You think the final solution to the State of Israel's Arab problem lies in expulsion of the Arab population within the State of Israel and also from the territories acquired in 1967.

In my judgment, that position of yours, if adopted, would validate the infamy that identifies Zionism with racism and identifies Zionism with Nazism. But Zionism is not and never has been racist and it is the Jewish people's answer to Nazism.

Giving aid and comfort to the enemy, you propose as policy precisely those actions of deportation and resettlement that paved the way to Buchenwald and Treblinka. But even if you deny and maintain that you want to send people "only" where they "belong," you still deny to Arabs within the State of Israel and in the other parts of the Land of Israel the right to home and security.

a livelihood and dignity, which the State of Israel promises to all its citizens, without discrimination by reason of religion, culture, language, or race.

What can you and I debate in these matters? I can think of no legitimate subject for reasoned difference.

And how can I pretend to entertain as propositions for debate a set of policies that sort people out by reason of religion and race and deny elemental human rights to people whom God made and love as much as He loves us?

You claim people defame, rather than debate with you. But your own words, the policies you espouse, accomplish your own defamation: you are a racist, and civil discourse within Jewry has no room for racism.

And why Providence, of all places? Providence, religious people know, is the name of two things: a place I love, but also a trait of God. Providence refers to God's special love and concern for each of us as individuals, God's protection and concern for all creation. In a place called Providence, shall we entertain the proposition that there is no providence?

And Rhode Island? That sewer of dissent, that home and hearth of every wrongheaded, ornery, outspoken, public nuisance and public scold in the original 13 colonies? I see no forum in the State of Rhode Island appropriate for a debate with someone who, in the terms and context of debate on the issues at hand, has in mind to flush the sewers.

We free-thinking Rhode Islanders, making room in our midst for all manner of opinion, stand for everything we think Rabbi Kahane denies — and would by force remove from the State of Israel — which is the right to be different.

So, no, Rabbi Kahane, I will not debate with you in Providence, Rhode Island. And, if I may add, I do not think Jerusalem is the right place either. And if you will open the Torah, you will see why.

Professor JACOB NEUSNER

Providence, R.I.

GERMAN YOUTH AND THE HOLOCAUST

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — We are five girls from Cologne who participated in a student-exchange programme in Israel this spring. We got the chance to get to know something of Jewish life and many Israelis.

We had the opportunity to see your TV programme (Shalom Jerusalem — Hello Cologne) according to which the Holocaust was almost completely forgotten in Germany. We think differently. We feel a very deep responsibility for that subject and we think and talk very much about it. We are intensely concerned with the Holocaust and do not want to repress our past. We know how important it is to be careful and to discuss the subject at school.

We want to be the young genera-

tion who is able to build a peaceful relationship between Israel and Germany.

RITA LEMMEN
KATJA KUKATZ
ALEXANDRA MERTENS
ANDREA KOCH
ANNE-MARIE HEYN

Cologne.

POLICY ADVICE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Diaspora Jewry can become actively involved in the Mid-East peace process as soon as it is acceptable for Israelis to advise the U.S. Government as to its defence posture.

MILT AND SANDY KRAMER
Jerusalem.

Jason Davis on the fight for the environment

Wanted: fair deal for bats

ENVIRONMENTAL unawareness, once rampant in Israel, has decreased in recent years, largely through the efforts of the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI).

Large-scale environmental abuse, from the draining of swamps and wetlands to the widespread use of destructive pesticides such as DDT, was once seen as a necessary sacrifice in the struggle to create an independent and economically viable state.

In the Israel of today, while it is fashionable to pay lip service to the ideal of environmental preservation, more pressing national concerns tend to keep environmental concerns on a low-profile level in terms of media coverage and public awareness. The treatment of native bat populations is a case in point.

Mass extermination of fruit bat colonies, initiated in 1958 under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture, continues unabated at present. That ministry's final solution to the fruit bat problem is to seal off bat caves and then to fumigate with high concentrations of insecticide. This process, patently inhuman and unparalleled in any other nation, destroys not only the resting fruit bats, but also all other organisms inhabiting the caves, including insectivorous bats, rodents and owls.

Interestingly enough, damage to crops — which was used to justify bat fumigation 25 years ago — is today negligible in that fruits are harvested before reaching the soft, ripe stage at which they are edible to bats. In fact, bats, by removing unpicked, overripe fruit, can actually be instrumental in the control of damaging pests such as the Mediterranean fruit fly.

Historically the objects of unjustified prejudice and bad publicity, bats get an especially raw deal in Israel. The Nature Reserves Authority (NRA) and the SPNI seem to have little time and energy to spare for these silent, all but unseen victims of ecological shortsightedness.

In the less than 30 years since cave fumigation was begun, at least three species of bats have become completely extinct in Israel, and most of the remaining species have been drastically reduced in number. This alarming reduction is due largely to the state-sponsored poisonings already mentioned, but many isolated incidents of private destruction contribute to the decimation.

In early June, for example, a homeowner in the north became annoyed by the presence of a colony of bats in

his attic and, after conversation with the SPNI and the NRA, took matters into his own hands. After repeated sprayings with an over-the-counter insecticide seemed to have no effect, he brought an industrial-strength vacuum cleaner into the attic and vacuumed up those bats which did not manage to escape.

Arriving four days later, zoologists from Tel Aviv University found over 100 pipistrelle bats packed into the machine. Several were in pairs, consisting of a lactating female with her nearly-grown offspring clinging to her undersides, and nearly all of the remainder were juveniles, also unable to escape with the rest of the colony. After nearly 96 hours in their Hoover boxcar, only one of the bats remained alive.

Incidents like these, while cruel and unjustifiable, are encouraged by the apathy of the authorities whose job it is to provide assistance in such matters. Citizens simply reach the point where they feel they have no choice but to take independent action. This, in combination with the official extermination policies of the Ministry of Agriculture, has spelled disaster for the bats of Israel.

Reports of the situation here have reached scientists and environmental groups overseas, resulting in the beginnings of a public outcry, confined until now to articles in various journals, including *The Ecologist*, *International Zoo News*, and *Bats*, the newsletter of Bat Conservation International. Attempts by Israeli scientists to bring the matter to the attention of the local media have met with dismal failure, however. An occasional lecture on "the price of newspapers nowadays" has been about the extent of the local press response.

The fumigation of bat caves, an inhuman anachronism which is unnecessary and even counter-productive in agricultural terms, should be ended. The NRA and the SPNI should be more responsive to individuals who are inconvenienced by the presence of bat colonies in buildings, and should provide humane solutions such as relocation when such actions are demanded by the situation.

Bats, while not the most visible members of the Israeli ecosystem, are nonetheless crucial, and play a vital role in pest reduction. A reversal of government policy at this point could come in time to save at least some of the remaining species which are approaching extinction.

The writer is a master's degree student at Tel Aviv University.

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Pains of redemption

WITHIN but two weeks and two days from now a fearsome flock of financial chickens will, as expected, be coming home to roost.

On that day two billion new-shekel worth of the "arrangement" bank shares will be due for redemption. To make this possible the Treasury will inject that very amount - plus another half billion shekels to cover additional obligations - into the economy. The Treasury's great hope is that the bulk of the awesome amount of NIS 2.5 billion will be re-invested by the public in newly devised saving schemes, and that only a small portion will at once be spent on consumption. If that hope is badly disappointed, the result could be very damaging.

It is now too late in the day to reconsider, except for historical purposes, the October 1983 "arrangement" itself.

That it was a scandal can now hardly be gainsaid. The Likud government of the day rightly felt that it had a moral obligation to the tens of thousands of gullible bank-share holders harmed by its reckless policies. For that huge constituency had been assured by the country's grand banking pandemics, including the Likud finance minister himself, that there was no better security than in those shares, and that the artfully manipulated nominal values of the shares indicated their true worth.

When the house of cards the Likud had helped build suddenly threatened to come crashing down, the government, with enthusiastic assistance from the loyal Labour opposition fending for its own economic interests, promptly undertook to indemnify bank-share holders over a period of time for the enormous losses they would otherwise have sustained.

In its final shape the "arrangement," as it came to be called, promised past purchasers of bank shares not just a reasonable return on their original investment, but its full inflated worth, regardless of the amount involved. It was, and remains, a scheme for the enrichment of the affluent rather than for the protection of persons of modest means. But the deed was done, and no successor to the then Likud government could go back on its predecessor's commitment without forever undermining the people's faith in their rulers' word.

Fortunately for the Treasury, meaning for the country, a number of both local and world economic developments during the intervening four years have worked to soften, even if not entirely to blunt, the inevitable blow of making the commitment good.

The U.S. dollar, to which the 1983 obligation was pegged, has in the interim been mercifully eroded in value. This has saved the government some NIS 700 million, or one quarter of the amount that was originally to have been paid out this month under the "arrangement." The economic stabilization programme launched in July 1985 helped, too, by virtually freezing the dollar exchange rate. The government's entire debt position has in the process been improved: the case of the "arrangement" is only one example of the improvement.

The danger to the economy from the inflow of such huge sums of money as will nevertheless shortly be poured into it must not, however, be underestimated. Israelis are already on a buying spree that bids far to rival the consumer revelry which preceded the banks' near bankruptcy four years ago.

What the Treasury needs in order to cope successfully with the looming danger is, above all else, to keep its cool. It must not be panicked into taking emergency measures, such as raising the interest rates, which will only flash the possibility of devaluation in the public's eye and impede economic progress. A devaluation at this time would be most harmful: that prospect can be shown to be remote by making means of payment available to people wishing to buy imported goods now.

The Treasury should therefore seek to absorb only as much of its own injection on October 30 as it requires to ensure that it will meet its overall pre-set target by the end of the fiscal year. That should enable it to get safely through the critical next three months while keeping the flag of economic stability and growth high on its mast.

Under a volcano

THE IMAGE of a country living in the shadow of a volcano is not inappropriate for Israel today.

An armed invasion is not looming for the moment across any of Israel's frontiers, but the discontent of the Arab population in the territories is becoming increasingly hard to contain. To assure even a modicum of quiet in the territories until such time as their political status is settled by agreement, the use of an iron fist may on occasion be necessary. But it most certainly cannot suffice if Israel is not to be turned into a regular police state. A cool and wise head is a far more effective weapon.

If the volcano is to be prevented from actually erupting, the political conflict between Israelis and Arabs must not be allowed to be converted into a religious and nationalist row, however much some in the Palestinian camp may like that to happen. Unfortunately the Palestinian fanatics have undeclassed allies among Jewish zealots for whom Israel's sovereignty is meaningless without, for example, unmistakable Jewish control over the Temple Mount, or even the elimination of Moslem presence from it.

In years past the Police kept the peace of that holy site by keeping the hotheads apart. This week for some reason they saw fit to let Gershon Salomon's Temple Mount Faithful enter the area, thus triggering the fully expected outpouring of senseless Arab anger. The allegation of a Jewish conspiracy to attack Al Aksa Mosque was preposterous. But the lack of Israeli commonsense was woefully obvious, too.

For a long while now the security authorities have been pressed to equip soldiers and Border Policemen with less lethal weapons than firearms to quell disturbances, or for that matter to pass through hostile towns in safety but without killing people. On Monday an Arab woman was killed in Ramallah while blundering into an area of town where the Border Police had been firing to protect themselves from rock-throwing rioters. It need not have happened if the lawmen had rubber bullets or tear gas to protect themselves with.

There are security measures that breed only greater insecurity. No matter, say some self-styled terror experts. If the volcano comes to truly threaten us, we will simply level it down. They have not given too much thought to the shape of the scenery that will emerge from such delicate surgery.



The myth of annexation

Gad Ya'acobi

AFTER THE criminal attack against Dr. Sari Nusseibeh at Bir Zeit University, there were those who called him a moderate. Especially those members of the Likud who held "political talks" with him in search of a way out of the trap: caught between the desire to continue the creeping annexation and the recognition that this will lead to a bi-national or undemocratic Israel.

Sari Nusseibeh is not more moderate. He is simply smarter than his interlocutors, the advocates of a "Greater Israel." He knows what every intelligent Israeli should have known: that annexation will eventually lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state throughout the entire territory of Israel, and may well put an end to the Zionist idea "by peaceful means."

In the January 13, 1986, issue of *Newsweek* magazine Dr. Nusseibeh wrote: "It will, I believe, be in the interests of the 1.1 million Palestinians living under Israeli rule to demand full rights as Israeli citizens... I can foresee that in five or ten years from now, the annexation will appear to us as victory... For within several decades we will be the majority..."

But the members of the Likud and the Tehiya party don't understand what he understands. "Look," they thought, "here's a moderate Palestinian with whom we can talk."

FROM THE POINT of view of the Palestinians, Sari Nusseibeh and those who share his views are correct in saying that the goals of the PLO will be realized through annexation.

It is his Israeli interlocutors who are burying their heads in the sand in the face of the demographic forecast. And those who respond to this forecast with such mystical sayings

as, "The Glory of Israel will not lie," and are content with this, are deluding themselves and others.

They are ignoring the fact that 53 out of every 100 children born today under Israeli rule are not Jews. In the year 2000, the number of Jews throughout the territory under Israeli control will amount to only 55-57 per cent, and by the year 2010 their number will equal that of non-Jews. In the Gaza Strip alone there will be a million people in the year 2000.

This is a reality that will confront us with one of the following two options: to be a democratic state but cease to be a Jewish state; or to maintain an "apartheid" regime of discrimination and cease to be a democratic state. In either case, Israel will cease to be a focus of identification for the Jewish people in the Diaspora and here at home.

This is a frightening forecast, but totally realistic. Tricks and slogans will not help us to escape it.

The *status quo* is an illusion which rests on the simple knowledge that there are no static states either in nature or in the human and political reality. There is under way today a process whose essence is bidding farewell to the State of Israel as a democratic Jewish state. It is not too soon to act. For the future begins today, at this very moment. We cannot wait blindly for fate to take its course, or for a miracle - because it won't come.

THE IDEAL solution is, of course, to achieve full peace through direct negotiations, accompanied by security arrangements. The opening of the negotiations can be in the framework of an international conference. But the conference is only a means. Our goal is peace.

But this may well be a goal which cannot be achieved in a single leap. The gap between the positions of the moderates in Israel and the

Dry Bones



moderates in Jordan and among the Palestinians is very wide.

We should therefore assume that the fabric of our relations with Jordan and the Palestinians will require interim arrangements, designed to lead by stages to full peace. These can be territorial, or functional, or a combination of both. They can be applied first to densely-populated Arab areas in preparation for their transfer to the jurisdiction of a Jordanian-Palestinian state. The latter, of course, within the framework of an agreement to be achieved with that state.

But even if an interim arrangement is not agreed upon, we still should not acquiesce in the perpetuation of the *status quo*, which be-

tokens a steady decline towards a political structure and regime disastrous to Israel. If agreement is not reached, we should introduce a unilateral interim arrangement for the densely-populated Arab areas in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. This arrangement would not apply to the Jordan valley, the Jerusalem area, Gush Etzion, and other Jewish settlements in these regions.

Within the framework of this arrangement: full responsibility for domestic affairs would be transferred to the municipalities. The IDF would remain in those places designated by the government and the General Staff. It would intervene only in the case of a security threat to Israel or interference with vehicular traffic to the Jewish settle-

ments and a threat to their security.

But the top priority must be to make every effort to exhaust the political process that will lead to peace talks or agreed interim arrangements.

It is the duty of every government which sees itself as responsible for the future of Israel to take the initiative in this process. Should the people, the Knesset and the government fail to do so, they will lead Israel to very dark days, and to the realization of the plan advocated by Sari Nusseibeh - a plan which, from the Palestinian point of view, is a smart one.

Gad Ya'acobi is minister of economics and planning.

The game of pseudo-diplomacy

Susan Hattis Rolef

NOW FOR THE Palestinian side. Anyone who has ever spoken to Palestinians with any political clout knows that what the most moderate of them want (and the majority are not moderate) is a place in the sun, associated with Israel as two sovereign states should be associated with each other. Just a flag and a national anthem with the IDF as an overseer will not do.

If Amirav got the impression (as he states in his article in *The Jerusalem Post* of October 7) that, for example, his interlocutors agreed that Jerusalem "would remain united under Israeli sovereignty, and that the administrative capital of the expanded autonomy would be established in East Jerusalem," either he was deliberately led astray, or he totally misunderstood them.

The most moderate view about Jerusalem one hears from people identified with the PLO in East Jerusalem is Hanna Siniora's. He says that although the city should not be divided by a wall, and should be united on the municipal level, sovereignty should be divided, with West Jerusalem serving as the capital of Israel and East Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian state.

HOWEVER, what is disturbing about the Amirav initiative for those

of us who truly believe that the goal should be to try to bring Israeli leaders to meet with the Palestinian leaders who are capable of stopping terrorism, and bringing to an end the diplomatic nightmare Israel has had to cope with in the international arena since October 1973, is that it has set the process back several steps from what were extremely modest beginnings.

Amirav is as culpable here as the Labourites from the Peres camp who, before the 1984 elections, prepared, in consultation with some Palestinians, an extremely progressive and enlightened blueprint for a policy in the occupied territories without, however, associating any persons from the Rabin camp in its preparation. And this despite their knowledge that Rabin was Labour's candidate for minister of defence and thus the person who might well be in charge of Israel's policy in the territories after the elections.

Amirav is also culpable as the prominent Labour doves who encouraged Palestinian personalities to engage in a secret dialogue which was subsequently leaked to the press, and to sign a meaningless document which they must have known did not have even the tacit support of the leadership of the Labour Party.

The guilt here lies in the fact that the most moderate imaginable PLO-associated Palestinians from the territories were lifted up to the

skies by their Israeli interlocutors, and then dropped to earth with a bump. Why on earth should they ever try again?

What one ought to be doing, rather than engaging in exercises of futile pseudo-diplomacy, is getting the largest number of influential Israelis and Arabs to meet for honest, private conversations, without unrealistic goals and certainly without any media coverage, so that a process of mutual de-demonization may begin. It is only if such a process sets in that the minimum trust will be established for any Israeli government and any Palestinian leaders to be able to reach a *modus vivendi*.

The only comfort one may derive from the Amirav affair is that some Herutniks of the younger generation (and it is good news if indeed MKs Dan Meridor and Ehud Olmert were at least indirectly involved) are prepared to defy the rejectionist consensus of their party and subject themselves to what for want of a better term one might call a "Palestinian experience."

The writer is editor of the Labour Movement English-language monthly, *Spectrum*.

Readers' Letters appear on page 9.

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